

3838. Also, petition of the Federal Commodities Surplus Corporation Local, United Federal Workers of America, urging passage of the 5-day week for Federal employees; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3839. Also, petition of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Local 53, U. F. W. of A. endorsing House bill 8431, the Federal Workweek Act (H. R. 8428), the Federal Workers Appeals Act; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

3840. By Mr. DELANEY: Petition of the Puerto Rico Post, No. 1105, American Legion, Brooklyn, N. Y., requesting support of petition No. 3729, which urges that the rights of citizenship be conferred on natives of the Philippine Islands now residing in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3841. By Mr. DEMUTH: Resolution of the Pennsylvania State Planning Board, urging upon Congress the creation of a permanent national planning board and suggesting that the establishment of planning and conservation regions and agencies, as provided by the Norris, Mansfield, and similar bills, be deferred pending study by, and report of recommendation from, said proposed national planning board; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

3842. By Mr. PFEIFER: Petition of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, New York City, opposing any interruption of the pneumatic-tube mail service in the city of New York; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

SENATE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1938

(Legislative day of Wednesday, January 5, 1938)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, January 19, 1938, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the following bill and joint resolution, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 8432. An act to provide for a flowage easement on certain ceded Chippewa Indian lands bordering Lake of the Woods, Warroad River, and Rainy River, Minn., and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 530. Joint resolution authorizing the President to invite foreign countries to participate in the ceremonies to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the national ratification of the Constitution of the United States in Philadelphia, Pa., June 17 to 21, 1938.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I suggest the absence of a quorum, and, in order to assure the presence of one, I ask that the roll be called.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Adams	Burke	Gillette	Logan
Andrews	Byrd	Glass	Lonergan
Ashurst	Byrnes	Guffey	Lundeen
Austin	Capper	Harrison	McAdoo
Bailey	Caraway	Hatch	McCarran
Bankhead	Chavez	Hayden	McGill
Barkley	Clark	Herring	McKellar
Berry	Connally	Hill	McNary
Bilbo	Copeland	Hitchcock	Maloney
Bone	Davis	Holt	Minton
Borah	Donahay	Johnson, Calif.	Neely
Bridges	Duffy	Johnson, Colo.	Norris
Brown, Mich.	Ellender	King	O'Mahoney
Brown, N. H.	Frazier	La Follette	Overton
Bulkeley	George	Lewis	Pepper
Bulow	Gibson	Lodge	Pittman

Pope	Sheppard	Thomas, Okla.	Vandenberg
Reynolds	Shipstead	Thomas, Utah	Van Nuys
Russell	Smathers	Townsend	Walsh
Schwartz	Smith	Truman	
Schwellenbach	Steiger	Tydings	

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. HUGHES] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GERRY] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are absent because of colds.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIETERICH] and the Senators from Montana [Mr. MURRAY and Mr. WHEELER], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. RADCLIFFE] are detained on important public business.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MILLER] is absent, attending a meeting of the project committee of the Rivers and Harbors Congress.

I ask that this announcement be entered of record for the day.

Mr. AUSTIN. I announce that the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE] is unavoidably detained from the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Eighty-two Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a telegram from the secretary of the Mississippi Senate embodying a resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JACKSON, MISS., January 20, 1938.

HON. JOHN NANCE GARNER,

Vice President of the United States,

President of the Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following joint resolution unanimously passed both houses of the Mississippi State Legislature and was today approved by Governor Hugh L. White:

"Senate Joint Resolution 1

"Declaring the attitude of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi on the so-called antilynch bill now pending in the Senate of these United States.

"Whereas there is now being debated in the Senate of the United States a bill generally known as the antilynching bill; and

"Whereas this bill, if enacted into law, would be an invasion of the sovereign rights of the individual States of these United States; and

"Whereas this said antilynching bill, if enacted into law, would penalize innocent parties; and

"Whereas the enactment of this bill by the Congress of the United States would be an insult to the citizenship of the entire South; and

"Whereas the relations between the races in Mississippi are more amicable at this time than at any time since the Civil War, and the passage of this said bill would greatly endanger this status; and

"Whereas this bill is a vicious attack upon the democratic form of government and upon the theory of States' rights and is contrary to the purposes of the framers of the Constitution and the founders of our Federal Government: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of Mississippi views with grave concern this attempt to foist this political legislation upon the Southern States, and urges the Senate of the United States to uphold the theory of States' rights upon which our Federal Government was founded, and submits that the passage of the said bill would be a violation of the Constitution of the United States and an insult to the Southern States and the citizens thereof; that Hon. PAT HARRISON and Hon. THEO. G. BILBO, Senators from Mississippi, and the Honorable WILLIAM E. BORAH be commended for their actions in opposing the passage of said bill; and that the contents of this resolution be immediately telegraphed to the Presiding Officer of the United States Senate. Enrolled resolution being forwarded by mail."

MISSISSIPPI STATE SENATE,
By RAIFORD WATSON, Secretary.

The VICE PRESIDENT also laid before the Senate telegrams in the nature of petitions from members of the Committee Pro Spanish Democracy, and the Communist Party, Eighteenth Assembly District, New York City, N. Y., praying for the enactment of the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. BYRNES presented the following concurrent resolution of the legislature of the State of South Carolina, which was ordered to lie on the table:

Concurrent resolution thanking Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, for his valiant, able, and patriotic fight against the passage of the so-called antilynching bill now pending in the United States Senate

Whereas the so-called antilynching bill now pending in the United States Senate and the Senators from the South are making a serious and unavoidable fight against its passage because it reflects on the South and its efforts for the enforcement of all laws and its ability to handle a difficult question under the conditions; and

Whereas the bill is unfair, unreasonable, and grossly sectional because it would impose big fines on law-enforcement officers in the South when they are powerless to prevent bands of men from taking persons charged with the most heinous of all crimes—that of rape—a crime that the lowest order of beasts, save man, never commits, from their custody for immediate and speedy execution, while it leaves unmentioned and untouched thugs and gangsters who, well dressed, parade in high-powered automobiles along the streets of the greatest city in the world and shoot down unsuspecting men and women for the money and jewelry they may find on their dead bodies; and

Whereas that eloquent and forceful Senator, WILLIAM E. BORAH, from that far western State of Idaho, a lifelong Republican in politics, did on last Friday, January 7, 1938, come to the aid of the southern Democratic Senators in delivering a most remarkable address against that bill, defending the South and decrying the sectionalism of such a bill and discussing the entire question in such an able and comprehensive manner, showing that such a law would even harm the progress and advancement of the Negro race and its relations to the white race in the South, and pleading with the Senate not to meddle or interfere with the South in the handling of this most difficult question: Therefore be it

Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring), That we, members of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina as representatives of all of our people of all races, striving at all times to advance and improve the welfare of all of our people, do most sincerely and earnestly thank Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH for his broad, patriotic stand on this matter, and respectfully and prayerfully commend the good reason, judgment, and common sense set forth in his address in the United States on Friday, January 7, 1938, and ask the other Senators to join him and those Senators who share in his views and the Senators from the South in their effort to set aside this unfair, unreasonable, and dangerous bill to make way for the more pressing legislation that awaits their attention.

Resolved further, That copies of this resolution be sent to Senator WILLIAM E. BORAH and to the Senators from South Carolina, ELLISON D. SMITH and JAMES F. BYRNES.

Mr. LODGE presented a petition of sundry citizens of Springfield, Mass., and vicinity, praying for the enactment of legislation to abolish the Federal Reserve System as at present constituted and to restore the congressional function relative to coining and issuing money and regulating the value thereof, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Mr. CAPPER presented a resolution adopted by the Industrial Union Council of Kansas City, Mo., favoring the enactment of the bill (H. R. 1543) to amend section 24 of the Immigration Act of 1917 relating to the compensation of certain Immigration and Naturalization Service employees, and for other purposes, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also presented petitions of sundry citizens of Buhler, Kans., praying for the enactment of the bill (S. 2911) to promote peace and the national defense through a more equal distribution of the burdens of war by drafting the use of money according to ability to lend to the Government, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS

Mr. CONNALLY, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to which was referred the bill (S. 3220) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to transfer the title and all other interests in the old tower clock from the Escambia County Courthouse Building, acquired by the Government by deed, to the Pensacola Historical Society of Pensacola, Escambia County, Fla., reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 1307) thereon.

PRINTING SUPPLEMENT TO COMPILATION ENTITLED "TREATIES, CONVENTIONS, INTERNATIONAL ACTS, PROTOCOLS, AND AGREEMENTS"

Mr. HAYDEN. From the Committee on Printing, I report back favorably, without amendment, a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 220) submitted by Mr. PITTMAN on the 10th instant was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there shall be compiled and printed as a Senate document a supplement to the compilation entitled "Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols, and Agreements Between the United States and Other Powers," which shall be revised up to and including December 31, 1937, and that 500 additional copies be printed and bound for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

As in executive session,

Mr. HARRISON, from the Committee on Finance, reported favorably the nomination of Rufus W. Fontenot, of New Orleans, La., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Louisiana, to fill an existing vacancy, which was ordered to be placed on the Executive Calendar.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

Mrs. CARAWAY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on January 19, 1938, that committee presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 2550. An act to permit the printing of black-and-white illustrations of United States and foreign postage stamps for philatelic purposes; and

S. 2940. An act to make confidential certain information furnished to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and for other purposes.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. NORRIS:

A bill (S. 3283) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to place certain records of Indian tribes with State historical societies, under rules and regulations to be prescribed by him; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. BERRY:

A bill (S. 3284) for the relief of the heirs of Theodore Wedekind; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MINTON:

A bill (S. 3285) granting a pension to Pearl Littell Blocher (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. SCHWELLENBACH:

A bill (S. 3286) to authorize the addition of certain lands to the Wenatchee National Forest; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. POPE:

A bill (S. 3287) to authorize the exchange of lands adjacent to national forests in Adams and Valley Counties, Idaho; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. PEPPER:

A bill (S. 3288) to supplement the act approved March 2, 1887, by aiding and promoting research in the engineering experiment stations of the colleges established and designated in the several States under the provisions of the act approved July 2, 1862, and the acts supplemental thereto; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

A bill (S. 3289) for the relief of Sarah Lee Dorsey; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

A bill (S. 3290) to impose additional duties upon the United States Public Health Service in connection with the investigation and control of the venereal diseases; to the Committee on Commerce.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 3291) for the relief of Cecil M. Autrey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 3292) to afford an opportunity of selection and promotion to certain officers of the United States Naval Academy class of 1909; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

HOUSE BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION REFERRED

The following bill and joint resolution were each read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

H. R. 8432. An act to provide for a flowage easement on certain ceded Chippewa Indian lands bordering Lake of the Woods, Warroad River, and Rainy River, Minn., and for other purposes; and

H. J. Res. 530. Joint resolution authorizing the President to invite foreign countries to participate in the ceremonies to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the national ratification of the Constitution of the United States in Philadelphia, Pa., June 17-21, 1938.

NELLIE S. WICK

Mr. TYDINGS submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 224), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate hereby is authorized and directed to pay from the contingent fund of the Senate to Nellie S. Wick, widow of James R. Wick, late an official reporter of debates of the Senate, a sum equal to 1 year's compensation at the rate he was receiving at the time of his death, said sum to be considered inclusive of funeral expenses and all other allowances.

PREVENTION OF AND PUNISHMENT FOR LYNCHING

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1507) to assure to persons within the jurisdiction of every State the equal protection of the laws and to punish the crime of lynching.

Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. BYRNES and Mr. BAILEY addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate agreed to an order yesterday afternoon, just before taking a recess, which directed the Chair to recognize the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] today for the purpose of concluding his speech. Therefore, the Chair recognizes the Senator from Louisiana. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield; and if so, to whom?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question only.

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question only.

Mr. BYRNES. I desire to ask the Senator from Louisiana whether he approves of a concurrent resolution adopted by the General Assembly of South Carolina, thanking the Honorable WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, for his valuable, able, and patriotic fight against the passage of the so-called anti-lynching bill now pending in the United States Senate?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I am not familiar with the concurrent resolution, and I should not like to comment on it at present, not having read it.

Mr. BYRNES. I should like to submit the concurrent resolution to the Senator from Louisiana, thinking that he may read it during the day.

Mr. ELLENDER. I thank the Senator from South Carolina. I will gladly read the resolution at the very first opportunity. Mr. President, for the past 2 or 3 days I have been outlining to the Senate, as best I could, the historical background of the mongrelization of races in Egypt and in India, all of which occurred prior to the birth of Christ. Yesterday I spent most of the day in speaking on the same question, but dealing with its aspects just a little nearer home, the island of Haiti, and within the past two or three centuries; in fact, since the discovery of America by Columbus.

I believe I have shown to the Senate, by historical facts which cannot be contradicted, that wherever and whenever

the white race becomes mongrelized it is headed for decay, and that when decay sets in, it is usually first noticeable in the religious beliefs of the people.

I proceeded to show that in the two ancient countries of India and Egypt there once existed a proud civilization, and so long as that civilization remained in the hands of the Aryans, or the white race, civilization, science, art, and agriculture progressed; but just as soon as the blood of the colored race was permitted to permeate and become mixed with the blood of the whites, a mongrelization of the races began, and the first thing apparent was a change in religion, followed by a decay of that civilization, and a return sooner or later to barbaric lunacy.

Senators, I mean to bring the problem close home to you. I mean to demonstrate to the Senate and to the American people that the same lunatic barbaric activity is within the confines of our great country; and one of the places where it thrives most at this time happens to be in Harlem, in New York, the city from which, I will say to the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON], one of the proponents of this measure hails. I refer to the junior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER].

Of course, I do not mean to cast any reflection on the able junior Senator from New York. I merely desire, I will say to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS], further to bring home to the Senate the fact that these small Negro minorities which permeate and which are located throughout this country in the North and in various cities of our Nation—

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question only.

Mr. DAVIS. Does the Senator believe that the distinguished junior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] would cooperate with any minority that is not acting in the interest of all the people?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know that the Senator would do that. I will ask the Senator to draw on his own imagination. I am merely calling attention to conditions which exist in Harlem, in New York City.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. ELLENDER. For a question.

Mr. DAVIS. The Senator from Louisiana cooperates with the people of his State in order to come back to the Senate.

Mr. ELLENDER. I certainly do to the best of my ability.

Mr. DAVIS. He does not do anything that would be detrimental to his people.

Mr. ELLENDER. No. It so happens, Senator, that my cooperation is with the white people of my State. I do not know of anything I can do in the Senate for the white people that will not benefit the colored people. I refer to general legislation, of course, and not to any legislation that would place the Negro on the same plane as the whites. I stand for white supremacy at all times. We have in Louisiana what we call a white primary. I belong to the Democratic Party of the South, and I was elected by a handsome majority as the Democratic nominee as a result of an election that was held in the white primary. Later on, in the general election, where everyone can vote, I was also elected by a handsome majority.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield and give me one further bit of information? May I ask him a question for the purpose of eliciting it?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator indicate the difference in the total vote between the white primary and the general election?

Mr. ELLENDER. I cannot say as to that, Mr. President, but I know it was much less in the general election, because usually in the State of Louisiana, and I think in many other Southern States, the primary decides the question. In the general election, of course, everybody is entitled to vote, but the result is a foregone conclusion and so only a small percentage of voters turn out for it.

Mr. President, it is not my purpose at this time to go into details with reference to the mongrelization of the countries in the Western Hemisphere that lie south of us. That, of course, is a little nearer home than is Haiti; but I shall devote just a few minutes to tell of occurrences in certain countries of South America which in a measure paint a vivid picture as to why the United States of America prospered while those countries, with almost the identical climatic conditions, with the same natural resources in many instances, with towering forests, great oil fields, and big deposits of all kinds of minerals, have not prospered to the extent that the United States has prospered.

It is not my purpose at this time to go into details to show the mongrelization of Brazil, the mongrelization of Chile, the mongrelization of Argentina, of Colombia, and of other countries of South America, except to say that when those countries were discovered, not long after our own country was discovered, the settlers who occupied those territories did not follow the same method of life that was followed by settlers in this country. It is a well-known fact that the early settlers of this Nation came in large numbers and brought their wives along, or white wives were later supplied for them; whereas in the South American countries, instead of the settlers bringing in white women as their wives from across the ocean, whence they came, they found it probably more convenient to associate with the natives of the new continent; and as a result of that, from the beginning, there started a mongrelized population in those countries.

I do not mean to charge that the great country of Brazil is today composed entirely of a mongrelized people; but I do assert that the lack of progress in Brazil was in a large measure due to the fact that the white settlers who came to that country in the early days associated and cohabited and raised families with the people who were already in that country, and with slaves of the colored race who were imported there from other continents, who were of mixed breed, who were of the Mongolian race or of the Negro race; and, strange to say, in the great country of Brazil more progress is shown in the southern portion of it because of the fact that in the southern part of Brazil, I will say to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BERRY], the larger amount of the population came from Germany and Sweden. They were Nordics, and remained to themselves. They are there now, and to a certain extent there is in that section of Brazil more progress and greater development than elsewhere in the country, agriculturally and in every other way; and I may say that the same condition prevails in some parts of Chile and some parts of Argentina.

Mr. President, I should like to go into more of the details of this situation as it affects South America, because I feel confident that I could show the results of amalgamation of the races to the same extent as I think I exhibited to the Senate in the case of Egypt and in the case of India and also in the case of Haiti. But I agreed on yesterday to try to conclude my remarks today, although I may say that on this very important and very interesting subject I believe I could talk the rest of the week and part of next week. [Laughter.] But I promised to conclude today, and I shall try to do so. I shall therefore now attempt to bring to the attention of the Senate the social problem confronting us, and that I say is confronting us today as reflected in the proposed bill and similar bills that are now pending in the lower House of Congress.

I repeat, Mr. President, a statement I have made before. I like to quote this because it forms the basis, as it were, of my entire argument: "Political equality leads to social equality, and social equality will eventually spell the decay and downfall of our American civilization." I feel that I have brought the significance of this home to you, Senators.

Before I go to a discussion of the conditions in Harlem I might state to the Senate that I have on my desk a very interesting speech, consisting of 78 pages. It is an address by Hon. A. Caperton Braxton, a distinguished lawyer of the Virginia Bar; as a matter of fact, president of the Virginia Bar Association in 1903, I believe. In my opinion, it would

be very appropriate to study and read this speech, entitled "The Fifteenth Amendment—An Account of Its Enactment." It will be found from a reading of the speech that the white people of the United States never believed in giving to the colored people political equality. I ask, Why was that? I shall again have to call upon my imagination, but I am just as convinced as I am of anything I have said on the floor of the Senate since I started this speech that the American people did not want the Negro to vote because, I sincerely believe, they saw the handwriting on the wall—they saw that the moment that privilege was extended to the colored people of Indiana, to the colored people of Missouri, to the colored people of New York, they would ask for the social equality for which they are now striving, and to which the pending bill and other bills are leading.

I shall read just a few short passages from this speech, in the first pages of it, merely to support the statement I have just made. Mr. Braxton stated:

The origin of Negro suffrage, as a practical thing in the United States, was the act of January 8, 1867, establishing it in the District of Columbia. Whatever, in the light of thirty-odd years' experimentation, may now be thought of its justice, wisdom, or beneficence, the fact is that until the political exigencies of the reconstruction arose, unrestricted manhood suffrage for Negroes was neither accepted nor seriously considered by the people or leading men of any State or party. The wisdom and justice of unrestricted Negro enfranchisement is claimed by some to be axiomatic; but, nevertheless, there is not a single instance of its advocacy by even a substantial minority of the white population in any community where Negroes were sufficiently numerous to make the measure more than a naked theory.

Of the 34 States forming the Union on January 1, 1861, the constitutions of 30 of them excluded Negroes from the franchise. Even in the four States of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York, where Negroes were nominally granted suffrage, they practically cast no vote, either because scarcely any of that race resided there or else because they were excluded by educational or property qualifications. Of men over 20 years of age in 1860, there were in New Hampshire 91,954 whites and 149 Negroes; in Vermont, 87,462 whites and 194 Negroes; in Massachusetts, 339,085 whites and 2,512 Negroes; and in New York, 1,027,305 whites and 12,989 Negroes. But as each voter in Massachusetts was required to prepay his taxes and be able to read and write, and each Negro voter in New York was subject to a property qualification of \$250, not applicable to the whites, the result was that in the entire United States in 1860 there were only about 2,500 Negro voters, not one of whom resided outside of New York or New England.

Even in New England, suffrage had never been expressly conferred upon Negroes, but grew, merely by implication and construction, out of the broad language of their old constitutions. These constitutions (like those of several other States) were adopted at times when the idea of conferring suffrage upon Negroes, as a race, had never yet entered the mind of man, and when free Negroes were so scarce that they were no more contemplated by constitutional draftsmen than were Chinese or South Sea Islanders.

Later on the equally comprehensive suffrage laws of New Jersey, North Carolina, and Tennessee, where the population of free Negroes had become no longer negligible, were promptly reworded so as to admit only white men; but, in New England, the members of that race continued so few that it was not thought worth while to amend a constitution either to exclude or to admit them. Thus the Constitutions of Maine and Rhode Island remained as much unchanged after it was found that their language excluded Negroes, as did those of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts after it transpired that their language admitted them to suffrage. In the Constitution of New York alone, of all the States up to 1868, was the Negro expressly allowed to vote; but even there he was discriminated against by a heavy property qualification, not applicable to the whites, which excluded about 90 percent of the Negro voters.

Ignoring the enforced acquiescence of the Southern States during the reconstruction period, impartial Negro suffrage, when made an issue before the people, has never obtained a majority vote in a single State of the Union, save in Iowa and Minnesota, during the fall of 1868; and, at the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861, it is believed that neither under the National nor any State Government was there a single office, civil or military, filled by a Negro in the United States.

This aversion of the American people to Negro suffrage and office holding, was almost as great as their hostility to Negro slavery. From early Colonial times a large portion, if not a majority, of the white people of this country have been opposed, at least in theory, to Negro slavery. A majority of the States always prohibited it, and the remainder were deterred from abolishing it only because of practical difficulties. But, up to the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867—

The famous Reconstruction Acts, which really opened the way for the adoption of the fifteenth amendment were ushered in. At that time the good old South held the bal-

ance of power, and the Federal Government, through its strong arm, sent soldiers into the South, took charge of our governments, and the fifteenth amendment giving the Negroes the right to vote, was adopted.

Senators, if only the fifteenth amendment, giving suffrage to the Negroes had not been adopted we would be much better off today.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RUSSELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield to the Senator from New Jersey for a question.

Mr. SMATHERS. Does the Senator from Louisiana approve a resolution adopted yesterday by the House of Representatives of the New Jersey Legislature urging the Senator from New Jersey to vote for the antilynching bill?

Mr. ELLENDER. If I received a resolution of that nature from the Legislature of Louisiana I would send it back to them with my compliments, and, believe me, I would write something they would not enjoy reading. [Laughter.]

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield to the Senator from Maryland for a question.

Mr. TYDINGS. Who is representing New Jersey in the Senate of the United States—the legislature or the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. ELLENDER. Of course, the Senator from New Jersey, Senator SMATHERS, is representing the State of New Jersey here, and I hope he will use his good judgment and his good, common, horse sense in voting on this issue and not be guided by a few peanut politicians in his State. I know that the good white people of his State feel about this matter as the good people of the South do. Of course, I am not accusing anybody of politics on this bill, but the question is being asked, and I want to be frank in answering it. I hope that every Senator within the hearing of my voice will study this problem, will forget politics in considering it. That is what I want the Senate to do—forget politics in connection with this question. Do not look just for today or tomorrow or next week but look to the welfare of the future generations of our American civilization. Forget yourselves. Do not be selfish. Be brave and courageous.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SMATHERS. May I have my question answered?

Mr. ELLENDER. If I have not answered it to the satisfaction of the Senator from New Jersey—

Mr. SMATHERS. I asked the Senator if he approved of a resolution.

Mr. ELLENDER. I did not read it.

Mr. SMATHERS. That calls for an answer—"yes" or "no."

Mr. ELLENDER. I did not read it. I do not know what it contains. If the Senator will present it to me I shall be glad to read it, to study it, and give the Senator my frank, unbiased, and unprejudiced opinion later on in the debate. That is a bargain I will make with the Senator from New Jersey. I may state to the Senator, however, that if the resolution to which he refers endorses the pending bill I would resent and scorn it.

I continue reading:

But, up to the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, the people of no single State—

Listen to this, Senators. I repeat that by reason of the fact that the South just before the war held the balance of power the fifteenth amendment, granting the Negroes the right to vote, could not be put over, and I predict now that the fifteenth amendment is the one that is going to cause trouble, not for my generation, not for the generation of my children, or my children's children, but for future generations, and I am today giving to the people of America the same arguments, the same warnings as were given the ancient white

civilizations of Egypt and of India—"Take heed before it becomes too late."

As I said yesterday, it is my sincere desire to try to make it possible for the white people to live in this country with the Negro. What I am against is an amalgamation of the Negro race with the white race, because, just as sure as the sun shines, if we have an amalgamation of races we are going to have decay, the same as came about in ancient civilizations, and results similar to those which took place in Haiti will be experienced by us, and we shall have similar results to those now being experienced in many of the South American countries.

Senators, I feel that the South was punished enough when the Federal Government saw fit to send Negro soldiers down there, who paraded in New Orleans, to the disgust of the white people of that city, in order to keep in power a mulatto governor. I do not want that to happen in my State again, and I do not want it to happen in this country if I can help it, "and I don't mean maybe." [Laughter.]

I continue reading:

But, up to the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, the people of no single State had ever voted for impartial Negro suffrage, nor had any party (including the Abolitionists themselves)—

Those, Mr. President, who were against slavery, those who fought to free the slaves—

ever declared for it in a national platform. On the contrary, although in the decade immediately preceding 1867 no less than 27 of the 37 States then in the Union had amended their constitutions, * * * yet, in no single instance was the franchise extended to Negroes, but, in every case where political equality for Negroes had been suggested, it had been voted down by decisive majorities. It must, therefore, never be supposed that the sentiment against Negro slavery was, by any means, a sentiment in favor of Negro suffrage.

Even in some of the strongest antislavery States so decided was the sentiment against Negro suffrage that no greater reproach nor more damaging charge could be brought against a public man than that he favored political equality for Negroes.

Political equality. Not social equality but political equality. Those people foresaw what would happen—and I am not stretching my imagination in saying this—as did the people of ancient Egypt and India—as Jefferson foresaw, and as Lincoln foresaw, and as Douglas foresaw. I shall read again from the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and I propose to show that both of those great statesmen would not under any conditions bow down to any such demand. Most statesmen saw the handwriting on the wall. They were not politicians, they were statesmen. Men of conviction, men who loved their country. Patriots. We read about them and we are proud of what they said and what they stood for. We may not agree with all they wrote but we admire them for their honesty and sincerity of purpose.

Senators, listen to this:

As far back as 1836 Abraham Lincoln was on record as opposed to Negro suffrage.

I call to the attention of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] that Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, the man who set the Negro free, did not believe in slavery and neither did he believe in Negro suffrage; he sought to preserve the Union, but he did not believe in political or social equality for the Negro.

I continue reading:

And in his memorable series of debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858, in order that his strong antislavery views might not expose him to the charge of favoring the heresy of Negro suffrage, he repeatedly emphasized his condemnation of it. In his first "pitched battle," as he called it, with Judge Douglas at Ottawa, Ohio, he said—

Listen to this. This fell from the lips of the man who gave the Negroes their freedom, who fought to preserve the Union, and who had a heart of gold and whose sympathies were for the Negro:

"I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forbid their ever living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and, inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which

I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary; but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as a white man."

Of course, we in the South firmly believe in that principle. As I pointed out yesterday, we believe it and we practice it in the State of Louisiana and throughout the South. Never to my knowledge has there been an effort made by the State legislature, or by any officer administering the State laws, to in any way not give to the colored man his property rights to the same extent as is provided for the white man. Further than that we give the Negroes good schools and hospitalization to the same extent that we give to the white people. I said, "to the same extent." It may be that they have smaller schoolhouses, more cheaply built, but because of economic conditions the South has not been able to build any better. It is not because the South did not want to do so, but the South, because of economic conditions, had not been able to advance in the matter of education in the early days as much as it has done later, as the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BERRY] knows.

As I pointed out yesterday, the State of Louisiana in 1937 spent almost as much money for the education of the Negro of the State of Louisiana as the State spent in 1908 for both whites and Negroes. That is what we are trying to do for the colored people, and we want to continue to do that, I will say to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON]. We want to try to do what Jefferson said was impossible. As I have said here on two or three occasions, Jefferson took the position that the two races could not live in the Nation separately; that sooner or later there was bound to be an amalgamation. We are trying to make them live separately in the South, to keep them to themselves. We are fighting against amalgamation.

I continue to read:

Again, and upon a subsequent occasion, referring to the same subject in a public speech, he said:

"I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and the black races."

That is Lincoln talking, the man who emancipated the Negroes.

"I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office or intermarry with the white people—"

That is Lincoln, the great emancipator of the Negro race, speaking—

"and I will say, in addition, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality."

Notwithstanding these repeated denials, it seems that the editor of an Ohio paper, in September 1859, charged that Mr. Lincoln was really "in favor of Negro suffrage." But in a speech shortly afterward at Columbus, Ohio, Mr. Lincoln indignantly denied the charges; he quoted from his former speeches on the subject; and, in conclusion, said:

"I did not say that I was in favor of Negro suffrage; but . . . twice—once substantially and once expressly—I declared against it. . . . I presume the editor of that paper is an honest and truth-loving man, and that he will be greatly obliged to me for furnishing him thus early, an opportunity to correct the misrepresentation he has made before it has run so long that malicious people can call him a liar."

That was Abe Lincoln speaking.

These repeated declarations of Mr. Lincoln against Negro suffrage were not only made in public speeches but were published at the time in the newspapers far and wide; and, in the light of those views, of which he had never then indicated the slightest modification, he was nominated and elected President by the Republican Party the next year. It was even claimed by the Republicans at that time that advocates of Negro suffrage practically did not exist; and that the alleged favoring of it by their party was a baseless charge—a kind of bugaboo gotten up by the Democrats to scare off Republican voters. In fact, Mr. Lincoln declared in one of his speeches about that period, that he had never seen anyone who was in favor of political equality for Negroes.

Such was the sentiment of the country when the Civil War broke out in 1861; and, with the possible exception of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, there can be no doubt

that the advocates of impartial Negro suffrage could not then have mustered a corporal's guard in a single State of the Union.

In the course, however, of the next decade, covering the period of the war and the reconstruction, events transpired and conditions arose which made Negro suffrage possible of accomplishment. The principal agencies which contributed to this result were: First, gratitude to the Negro soldiers who had served in the Federal Armies—to "save the Union," as it was said; second, apprehension lest the so-called rebel element regain control of the Federal Government; and, third, the desire to perpetuate the Republican Party in power. Thus we have, as the inspiration for Negro suffrage, gratitude, apprehension, and politics—

With the accent on politics.

Three agencies, but the greatest of the three was politics.

In connection with the statement I have just read, Mr. President, I desire to file and have incorporated in the RECORD with my remarks an article by Mark Sullivan appearing in the New York Herald Tribune of January 20, 1938, entitled "Negro Vote Called Real Prize at Stake in Antilynch Battle—Mark Sullivan Says Northern Democrats Must Pass Bill or Break Promise to Racial Group; South, No Party to Bargain, Mutinies."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article will be printed in the RECORD.

The article referred to is as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 20, 1938]

NEGRO VOTE CALLED REAL PRIZE AT STAKE IN ANTILYNCH BATTLE—MARK SULLIVAN SAYS NORTHERN DEMOCRATS MUST PASS BILL OR BREAK PROMISE TO RACIAL GROUP; SOUTH, NO PARTY TO BARGAIN, MUTINIES

(By Mark Sullivan)

WASHINGTON, January 19.—For 2 weeks the Senate has been occupied with the antilynching bill—to the exclusion of important legislation immediately pressing. The public must wonder why the time and emphasis on the antilynching measure.

The question is the more puzzling when the state of mind of the Senate is understood. Common judgment says that if the bill comes to a roll call, perhaps 60 out of the 96 Senators will vote for it. But common judgment says also that all but a handful of the Senator would prefer that the bill be dropped. Why, then, is the measure kept before the Senate?

For the answer I borrow the words of one who knows the answer well. It is Dr. Stanley High. Dr. High, during the Presidential campaign last year, was—I quote the announcement of Dr. High's publisher—"one of President Roosevelt's closest advisers." He was a wheel horse in the campaign. He was head of the Good Neighbor League, which was affiliated with the Democratic National Committee. Because of the altruistic implications of the phrase "Good neighbor league" and because of certain humanitarian associations of Dr. High, he and his organization were a valuable regiment in the Democratic army. After the campaign, and from his familiarity with it, Dr. High wrote a book, Roosevelt—And Then? From this book the following sentences are detached. In the condensing, punctuation and a few words have been changed or omitted, but without altering the meaning. The extract explains what has been going on in the Senate:

NEGRO RALLY HERE RECALLED

"The most remarkable gathering in the Presidential campaign of 1936 was a Negro mass meeting staged in mid-October in Madison Square Garden in New York City. The expenses of the meeting were largely met by the Democratic National Committee. . . . In 60 other cities similar mass meetings were simultaneously held. A half hour of the high spot of the Madison Square meeting was broadcast over a coast-to-coast radio network—with all southern stations carefully omitted from the hook-up. . . . A few weeks later most of the northern Negroes deserted their traditional allegiance to the Republican Party and voted Democratic. . . ."

"For the time being the Democrats believe that in a good many Northern States they have swallowed up a large proportion of hitherto Republican Negroes. The Negro leaders are at the point now where they propose to make up their own minds on political and economic questions. They are becoming aware of their electoral importance. If they seek to deliver the vote it will be because—in terms of benefits for their people—they have got a price for it. The antilynching law was supported in the Senate by New York's ROBERT F. WAGNER and in the House by JOSEPH A. GAVAGAN, Democratic Representative, whose district includes most of Harlem. It was an effort to repay—in legislative coin—the debt of the Democrats of the North to the Negro voters who deserted the Republicans in the last election. . . . The Negroes, in any close election, represent the balance of power in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. The electoral votes of those States is 157 (out of a total of 531)."

Here, then, is the situation. The Democrats in the last campaign took from the Republicans the vote of Negroes in northern cities. The vote thus acquired was extremely valuable. Now, partly to pay their 1936 debt to the Negroes—but even more to hold the Negroes in future elections—the Democrats want to pass the antilynching measure and take other steps appealing to the Negroes.

SOUTH TOOK NO PART IN IT

But not all the Democratic leaders. Observe in the quotation from Dr. High, that, when the Democrats broadcast the Negro meeting in Madison Square Garden on the radio, "all southern stations were carefully omitted from the hook-up." The northern Democratic leaders prudently arranged that their left hand should not know what their right hand was doing.

But that prudent strategy now brings embarrassment. The Democratic Party is in the position of a man who has given a mortgage on his farm—but finds that his wife is unwilling to sign the deed. The wife says she was not a party to the contract and does not propose to be bound by it. The southern Democratic Senators resist payment of the debt to the Negroes; they resist enactment of the antilynching measure.

It is the northern Democratic leaders who are trying to pay the debt for past gratitude—and for hope of favors to come. Not all the northern Democrats. Those who really want to enact the bill are mainly a few from the Northern States in which the Negro vote is large, and who, therefore, have a direct personal interest. Some northern Democratic leaders from States having few Negro voters support the measure only tepidly, and only as a contribution to party policy in the North as a whole. Some northern Democratic Senators see the grave constitutional objections to the measure. They see also the political liabilities which are an offset to the political advantages. They see the resentment of southern Democrats, the party cleavage. They see also that much of the public everywhere may resent the cultivation of group pressure—the passage of a measure constitutionally and otherwise dubious merely for the purpose of appealing to a very small fraction of the total electorate.

As for the Republican Senators, one of them, Mr. BORAH, has pointed out the constitutional and other objections to the measure. But most of the Republican Senators recall that in the past, when the Republican Party had the Negro vote, that party introduced and supported antilynching measures.

Mr. ELLENDER. I continue reading:

In tracing the progress of Negro suffrage in the United States, from the beginning of the Civil War up to the adoption of the fifteenth amendment, little notice will be taken of the acts of the Confederate States. That the white people of those States were always unanimous in their opposition to Negro suffrage and that their final submission to it was in invitum are facts too well known to bear contradiction, or even rehearsal. The Union States alone being free from the close of the war till the proclamation of the amendment, their acts only are worth considering as expressive of public sentiment during that period.

Mr. President, it is not my purpose to keep on reading this very interesting speech, and because of its length I am not going to ask for its incorporation in the RECORD, for I do not wish to burden the RECORD; but I ask the Senators who are interested in this question to read this speech, this volume entitled "The Fifteenth Amendment—An Account of Its Enactment," by A. Capperton Braxton, and think about it. Let it sink in.

Now, Mr. President, I am just about ready to bring home to you and to other Senators, to those people in the audience, and to the American people the question of religion as it affects the Negro people and to show how easily they are persuaded into voodooism and into various other forms of religion of such character that they seem to me to come from the wilds of Africa.

I am not saying this, Senators, with the idea in view of discrediting the Negro people, but my statement is based on historical facts. The quicker the Negro people of this Nation can be made to realize that the white man is their superior and that they must work with the white man in order to further advance themselves, I say, the better off will the Negro people be.

I repeat what I said on the floor of the Senate during the course of this debate on two or three occasions, that if the Negro societies scattered throughout the Nation, if the American Federation of Labor, if the church societies throughout the country who are backing this bill, would only get down to earth, study the problem, and spend the money that is being spent for false propaganda, in an effort to really eradicate lynching through education they would get somewhere; but I say that the effort to advance the Negro socially, by this form of legislation and by other forms of legislation will get them nowhere, and they might as well realize it now.

Let us take a little excursion in Harlem in New York. I presume everybody knows a little about Harlem, where it is located, and who comes from Harlem and who goes to Harlem. I am sure that there are few people in this audience who have not heard of Father Divine, the famous "god"

from Harlem. I wish to say to the Senate that this "god" is treated as a real god by certain American citizens. Imagine that! I sent to the Library of Congress yesterday or the day before and obtained only four volumes written about this "god," but I am told that there are a few more. Can you imagine, Mr. President, civilized American people, white and black, but principally black, by the thousands, seriously believing in Father Divine as God, and in his angels Magdalen and Mary and Bouquet, as I shall show after a while to be a fact.

I propose further to show to the Senate that in some parts of America, principally in Harlem—because in Harlem, as I stated yesterday, there is the thickest Negro population in the country, somehow or other they are permitted to practice almost any kind of voodooism they desire, any kind of cult or religion. I believe that in most of the Southern States they do not dare practice such cults or voodooism, because we do not permit it there, nor do we permit them to practice other forms of barbaric fanaticism. We in the South do not fool with such things, but in Harlem it seems that they thrive on it.

Let me go back to Harlem and read a few paragraphs from a little volume entitled "The Incredible Messiah—The Deification of Father Divine," by Robert Allerton Parker. Father Divine, I will say to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], happens to be the son of a Negro slave from Georgia.

Mr. BARKLEY. He cannot help that.

Mr. ELLENDER. Of course, I appreciate he cannot help it.

I will read about two paragraphs from chapter 2 of this volume by Mr. Parker to verify to a certain extent the picture of Harlem I have been attempting to paint.

Harlem intellectuals scoffed at the god from Sayville. Cynics saw in the little messiah just another gum-beater, which is Harlemese for one who talks incessantly and accomplishes nothing. To these he was but one more addition to the vast throng of prophets, fortune tellers, voodoo men, chiromancers, magicians, psychoanalysts, soothsayers, rug cutters—

Whatever that means—

cassandras, evangelists, pseudo-Mohammedan marabouts, miracle workers—all the hawksters of hope who infest Harlem's noisome side streets and set up fly-by-night tabernacles in dilapidated and mildewed parlors, in chapels, or in deserted vegetable stalls. In Harlem there seemed to be followers for them all, because every type of black man in the world had been lured there by the world-wide publicity given to its highly exaggerated advantages: black Jews—

By the way, I did not know there were black Jews—

from Abyssinia, natives of the Cameroon, half-breeds from the Antilles, refugees from chain-gangs.

That is the kind that go to see what is doing in Harlem.

But though the intellectuals scoffed, there were thousands upon thousands in whose souls the atavistic hopes of a deliverer slept; thousands who still wanted a new leader to lead them to the promised land—

Imagine that in America—

thousands who turned their minds stubbornly away from the teaching of the white man, who reverted to faith in voodoo, magic, miracles. Beneath Harlem's surface cynicism, its disillusion, lay bottomless reservoirs of faith, credulity of gullibility, as you will.

Harlem was Babel—a Babel in distress. Though the most incessant motor traffic of the metropolis passed through its avenues, white men knew little or nothing of its elements or its spirit; ignored the daily miracle of the many who lived by their wits alone; knew nothing of the amazing variety of languages that were spoken there—a dozen different African dialects, Arabic, Spanish, Greek, Portuguese, Russian—added to its own indigenous Harlemese, an argot never acquired and rarely understood by "ofays" (Harlemese for "whites").

Few white men had ever heard of the Commandment Keepers, that sect of black Jews who worshipped in a synagogue in West One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Street, and who, during the feast of Succoth, attracted attention by rituals in their windows and on the roof tops. There was only one of the swarm of cults and mysticisms, theologies and theosophies, with their interminable colloquies concerning the nature of God and His relation to man. To Harlem, God was not a pale and bloodless concept kept alive in academic test tubes, but a living, dynamic power, just as He had been in Athens, or Rome, or Alexandria.

That, Senators, paints a little picture of what is being practiced today in America, in Harlem, by these colored

people who congregate there. Because of the fact that there is in Harlem that congregation of Negroes, who go unmolested by the police when it comes to the practice of so-called religion, voodooism, I say that they will eventually, as has happened in Egypt, India, and other countries, return to barbaric lunacy; and I do not want that kind of people to head the Government in this country, nor to sit in these seats in the Senate, if I can help it. Picture this seat formerly occupied by Clay being desecrated by Father Divine or any of his angels.

Now, let me give you a little history of this "Father Divine" before I go further.

This bit of history happened to appear in *Time*, the weekly magazine. It is not very long, but it will give you an idea of Father Divine, the god of the people of Harlem, a sect down there that really believes, according to the books from which I am going to read, that Divine—the son of a slave, I will say to Governor Murphy, of Michigan, who happens to be in the Senate Chamber at present—is God himself. That type of religious fanaticism is being practiced in America; and, as I said yesterday, I do not want Father Divine or any of these cults to go into the State of Mississippi, where the Negroes predominate, or into Louisiana, where about 40 percent of our population are Negroes, and work our colored people into a frenzy by voodooism and other means, and cause them to revert to a religion making gods out of onions and goats and everything else. I do not want that to happen. [Laughter.]

Now, let me go back and read from *Time*, a weekly magazine published in this country, which is very widely read. I read from the issue of August 31, 1936. The title of the article is "Religion." Imagine! This article in the magazine is entitled "Religion"—a new sect coming in; a sect that is being written about by one of our leading magazines, so as to bring it to the attention of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Davis] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] and the rest of the American people. Listen to Father Divine's history—"God", not Father Divine; "God"!—

At 3 o'clock one morning last week in Manhattan, Negroes of all sizes, shapes, and shades began gathering at an uptown pier on the Hudson River. Unmolested by police, the blackamoors shouted, stomped, sang, strummed. By 6 o'clock there were 2,000 of them. Then up rolled a big, blue Rolls-Royce, out of which popped a little brown man clad in gray suit, panama hat, white shirt, and honey-colored tie, in which gleamed a \$5 gold piece. "Here comes the body," bellowed followers of Rev. Maj. J. ("Father") Divine. The little man boarded one of two excursion boats moored at the pier. "We got the body," shouted Negroes hanging over her rails. Then Father Divine boarded the other boat, whose passengers cried, "Now we got the body." At a quiet signal from Harlem's benign cult leader the two boats churned out, headed up the Hudson.

Seven hours later the excursion arrived at Kingston, N. Y., where Father Divine has lately acquired a "promised land"—some 1,000 acres of farm land, worth \$160,000.

Think of that in America! I will say to my colleague [Mr. OVERTON], a promised land, bought by Father Divine for the members of his cult; trying to imitate the Bible. That cult is now willing to pray to its god, Father Divine, who happens to be the son of a Negro slave from Georgia. After a while I predict that they will perhaps be praying to an elephant, or to a flock of goats.

Plan is to settle the promised land with divine disciples who do not mind field work. While Kingstonsites gaped, the divine excursionists debarked, formed a parade in which one of Father Divine's touring cars, with a stuffed white dove on the radiator cap, was preceded by mounted Negroes in berets and riding togs, followed by female "angels" in green and white satin, wearing banners blazoned "Father Divine is God."

Think of that in America—these "angels" of Father Divine, wearing banners inscribed "Father Divine is God"; letting the world know about it, I will say to the Senator from Idaho [Mr. POPE]. Think of that in America! If that is not a return to barbaric lunacy, I am willing to quit talking right now. [Laughter.]

Pennons and banners carried by marchers showed that Father Divine has a political department, a research department—

Think of "god" having a political department and a research department. Think of it! [Laughter.]

By which "The Eyes of the Lord Runneth To and Fro Throughout the Whole Earth." Swinging music for all this was furnished by a band which included not only the usual brasses and wood winds but also violins, harmonicas, accordions, ukuleles, guitars, banjos, and a portable xylophone.

I thought they were going to leave out the banjos. The instrument is liked by the colored. [Laughter.]

Watching the Kingston parade, an American Legionnaire named Harry Whitney stiffened in patriotic anger when he beheld the announcement, "Peace, Father Divine is God," stitched on a United States flag.

I do not blame him. Think of that! "Father Divine is God," stitched on a United States flag.

He summoned police, who stopped the bearer, a white woman called Fair Angel, directed her to take the flag back to the boat. Later, on the premises of the "promised land" where Father Divine was watching a few of his followers swim in a pool whose out-houses were marked "For Sisters and Brothers," the police asked for the flag, got only the little cultist's soft reply: "I am bringing peace to everyone, even if they don't want it."

Out next day was the first full-length biography of Father Divine, god in a Rolls-Royce, by John Hoshor, 37, a white Manhattanite, one-time stockbroker, now a free-lance adman and investment counsel. Impressed by Father Divine as a self-advertiser, Biographer Hoshor claims to have spent 6 months in and out of a Divine "heaven" in Harlem, pretending to be a convert and, he says, almost becoming one.

Adman Hoshor guesses that Father Divine disburses \$1,500,000 a year on his dominion—

Heaven knows where he takes it from—some say from collections, some say from a retired millionaire, and others, from Russia—

a collection of boarding houses, coal yards, laundries, restaurants, garages operated by the busy little cultist and tenanted and staffed by fanatical blacks who have surrendered their economic as well as spiritual affairs to Father Divine. Author Hoshor estimates Divine's following at 2,000,000, although other observers set it as low as 20,000. Father Divine himself claims 30,000,000.

Although Divine disciples now like to believe that their "god" was not born but was "combusted"—

However that could come about—pray tell me. I thought combustion took place in gas engines only [laughter]—

one day in 1900, at the corner of Manhattan's Seventh Avenue and One Hundred and Thirty-fourth Street, and, although the father in 1932 told a court in Mineola, Long Island, that he had been born in Providence, R. I., 52 years before as Maj. Morgan J. Devine, it is now well known that he was born George Baker, in Savannah, Ga., 58 years ago.

That is Mr. George Baker, a Negro from Georgia, who has been able to collect millions of dollars, Heaven knows how; but I propose to show in a few minutes that he is so closely connected with communism that all of this money may be coming from Russia. As I shall show after a while, somebody is giving it to him, nobody knows definitely. It may be that some big, rich philanthropists are trying to feed a lot of poor people through Father Divine; I do not know; but that money comes from somewhere, and I am going, after a while, to read the platform of Father Divine and show how closely allied he is to communism. I am certain the money does not come from heaven. That man, the "god" of Harlem, the "god" of 30,000,000 subjects in the United States—so he claims—is being publicized, photographed, and written about all over the country, and taken seriously by many—too many!

Biographer Hoshor reveals that the father's religious life began when he was a hedge cutter 30 years ago in Baltimore after he had abandoned a wife and four children.

This is "god"—a fine fellow! A deserter of wife and children—

From a black preacher called "Father Jehovah," George Baker got the nucleus of his theology: the idea that God is in everyone. Taking the name of "The Messenger," Baker went to Brooklyn, soon became associated with another of Father Jehovah's followers who called himself "The Reverend St. Bishop, The Vine" and let each of his colleagues consider himself not only the repository of a god, but a god in fact. When the Reverend St. Bishop, The Vine was arrested, tried, and jailed for a sex offense, Baker once more changed his name, this time to Major Devine. (The improved spelling was a subsequent idea.) With a dozen followers, one of

them named Penninah who was to become known as Mother Divine, the onetime George Baker moved to Sayville, L. I., where he founded his first "heaven," a cooperative boarding house where everybody worked except Father Divine. He took care of the wages.

He took care of the wages, this book says. All were paid to him, and, as I said yesterday, I would not be surprised to find that a lot of those poor Negroes who believe that Father Divine is God turned their pockets wrong side out and gave all they had to him. That is where he might get much of his money, although, as I said a while ago, there is some reference in one of these books, although I do not know how authentic it is, to the effect that Father Divine probably gets his money from Russia, from communism.

By thrifty management and accepting all the property of those who joined him as "angels," Father Divine was able to serve big and tasty banquets in his Sayville "heaven," attract visitors from Harlem. So many Negroes were journeying thither on Sundays that white neighbors became alarmed and enraged. In 1932 Father Divine, who had come to believe that only he was God, was tried for conducting a public nuisance. He was convicted, sentenced to a year in jail and a \$500 fine. Three days later the trial judge died of a heart attack. Said Father Divine: "I hated to do it."

[Laughter.]

Imagine that! Here was a judge who found Father Divine guilty of a criminal offense and sentenced him to jail, and just because, 3 days later, the breath of life was taken from the poor judge who had sentenced him, Father Divine says, "I hated to do it." I venture to say that upon the death of that judge and the subsequent statement of Father Divine he got quite a number of converts. What does the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] think about that? [Laughter.]

-Today Father Divine has 60 heavens in the District of Columbia, 24 States, and 4 countries.

Sixty heavens; and I venture to say that all the angels of every one of those 60 heavens are backing the pending bill, and perhaps there are listening to me now some who belong to those heavens, and are here praying that this pending bill and similar bills designed to give the Negroes social equality shall be enacted, so that Father Divine can have more latitude, and can go to Louisiana and Georgia and Alabama, by the aid of the Federal Government, and there show us how to manage and handle the Negro problem. Father Divine had better spend his money, time, and efforts in attempting to get the Negroes of the South to help themselves and to help us in preventing the heinous crime of lynching as the result of rape, which all of us in the South detest as much as do the people of the North and those sponsoring this bill.

Today Father Divine has 60 heavens in the District of Columbia, 24 States, 4 countries.

Think of that—60 heavens in the District of Columbia, 24 States in the Union, and 4 countries.

The biggest collection, in Harlem, costs \$30,000 a year to operate. Besides his Rolls-Royce, he owns an airplane, manned by three dusky flying angels.

[Laughter.]

That is a very appropriate name for the airplane operators, "dusky flying angels." [Laughter.]

Though the man whom his followers believe to be God gets around to as many heavens as possible, he is to be seen most often in Harlem, sermonizing at length on such topics as The Supermental Relaxativeness of Mankind.

Divine has organized a "Righteous Government Movement."

"A Religious Government Movement," and after a while I shall read to the Senate a platform which has been inserted in the RECORD—I did not check this up, and I now ask the clerk to check it for me and send to my desk if he finds it, the platform which the junior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] had printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD here at Washington. That is my information, though I may be wrong about it; but I will ask the clerk to check it up for me.

Divine has organized a "righteous government movement," with a political platform demanding that doctors guarantee cures. "Peace" be substituted for "hello" as a telephone salutation—

Think of that, I suggest to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. BERRY]; when he goes to the telephone and asks for his wife, and she responds, instead of saying "Hello," he must say "Peace." [Laughter.]

Mr. DAVIS. Say what?

Mr. ELLENDER. He shall say "Peace." I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DAVIS] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] to think of that. [Laughter.]

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. In just a moment. Before one can get a doctor to come to the house to treat him, as I will show a little later, the doctor must guarantee to make one well, and let him beware if his patient dies. Again, I call the attention of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] to the fact that if he happens to telephone long distance to his folks back in Georgia, instead of saying "Hello" to them, he must say "Peace." [Laughter.]

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield first for a question to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. Did Father Divine prescribe that the salutation "Peace" be limited to domestic conversations only, or used generally?

Mr. ELLENDER. He apparently makes no distinction, but applies it to all, and I would advise reflection on the part of Senators who are in favor of legislation of the kind now pending, and who are willing to abide by the teachings of Father Divine, and who are willing, as Mayor LaGuardia did yesterday, as I read from one of the magazines, to bow down to "his highness"—although not because he believed that he was God, but because Father Divine could deliver votes. That may be the reason why so many people are anxious to please these little congregations in Harlem, in Chicago, in Indianapolis, and in other cities of this Nation; there may be many heavens out there, and there may be many angels in those heavens who are pleading that Father Divine will please help them to elect "So-and-So" and "So-and-So" to office so that "So-and-So" and "So-and-So" can give them social equality with the white folks.

I now yield to the Senator from Georgia.

Mr. RUSSELL. Is this the same Father Divine the Senator from Louisiana referred to yesterday as a former constituent of mine, to whom the mayor of New York pledged his support before four or five thousand people in Harlem, and said he would help him get anything he wanted?

Mr. ELLENDER. He is the same "god." [Laughter.]

Mr. RUSSELL. We may therefore assume that the mayor of New York is willing to substitute the word "peace" for "hello" in telephone conversations.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have no doubt about it, and probably he would gladly agree to it so as to further strengthen himself in future elections.

I repeat what I read last:

Divine has organized a "righteous government movement," with a political platform demanding that doctors guarantee cures, "peace" be substituted for "hello" as a telephone salutation, life insurance be abolished.

I have not had the time, but I would like to have the time and opportunity to find out why it is this "god" is desirous of abolishing life insurance. I am unable to stretch my imagination to find a reason. However, I may say that I promise the Senate that before this fight is over I will look this matter up and try to enlighten Senators as to why Father Divine is preaching the abolition of life insurance.

Listen to this:

Father Divine habitually ends his letters: "This leaves me well, healthy, joyful, peaceful, lively, loving, successful, prosperous and happy in spirit, body, and mind and in every organ, muscle, sinew, vein, and bone, and even in every atom, fiber, and cell of my bodily form."

[Laughter.]

That is the way he ends all the letters he writes. After a while I shall read, I may say to the Senator from Delaware

[Mr. TOWNSEND], a letter Father Divine sent to the President of the United States, in which he incorporated the same ending, and the President of the United States was invited to come to one of these jubilations in order to "git religion." [Laughter.]

Now, I leave this little article, which appeared in Time, from which I have been reading, and shall read a little passage—I state to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], written by Faithful Mary. [Laughter.] Faithful Mary, I may state to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. TOWNSEND], happens to be one of the angels of one of those heavens in Harlem. Father Divine's "No. 1" angel. [Laughter.] This is so ridiculous that I cannot help laughing myself, but it illustrates what America is headed for if we permit an amalgamation of the Negro race with the white race.

As far as I am concerned, I would vote today to repeal the fifteenth amendment, granting suffrage to the Negro, before it is too late. I do not want any Negro Senators to sit in the Senate, and I do not want any Negro Governors to sit in the Governor's chair of any State. That is what I mean. I do not want to be misunderstood. I say it charitably, with due respect, with the sympathy that I have and always have had for the Negro people.

The Negro people need the white people more than the white people need the Negro people. History shows that whenever a Negro people has seen the light of civilization it was a light inspired by the white people. The Negroes knew no civilization before they came to Egypt. They came uncivilized from dark Africa. When they came to India they knew no civilization. They knew nothing beside the barbarism under which they had lived in dark Africa.

The Negroes came to this country, to America, in bondage. They came here as slaves, and they did not know the light of civilization until they reached the shores of America. I say that the American people have been a blessing to the Negroes. The Negroes have prospered here, they have progressed. But the Lord pity them, and the Lord pity us, if there is an amalgamation of the Negroes with the whites.

I say again to Senators and to the American people, to those who hear me, to the colored people: Political equality leads to social equality, and social equality will eventually spell the decay and downfall of our American civilization. Not only will the white people suffer then, but I say that the Negroes themselves will suffer likewise.

In Haiti the Negroes were not able to manage their own affairs and have their own government. They lack the intelligence.

Many persons will say, What has that to do with the pending bill? The danger is not written in the pending bill, I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. It will not be seen in the bill in so many lines thereof. But, as I said yesterday, and as I said the day before, and the day before, as I have been saying for 5 or 6 days, if the colored man is given a foot by way of political equality, he is going to demand a yard, and if he is given a yard, he will demand a rod, and if he is given a rod, he will demand 5 miles. [Laughter.] That is what I am afraid of. And I am warning America now, before it is too late to change its course, to be on the watch and to heed the advice which is now given, and which was given by the leaders of the white race in Egypt and the leaders of the white race in India when they told the then dominant race to beware of amalgamation.

They warned them to keep the colored people out. Bringing a Negro slave into Egypt was made a capital offense. Why? Because they felt that if the Negroes were permitted to come and to amalgamate with the white race their civilization would decay. I do not want that to happen here in America, because I love America too dearly.

Let me now read a little booklet entitled "God, He's Just a Natural Man," written by Sweet Angel Faithful Mary, one of the occupants of one of these heavens in Harlem, and let us see what that "sweet angel" has to say about her "god." [Laughter.]

I do not know that any Members of the Senate have ever seen a picture of this "god," Father Divine. I show

here a picture of him speaking through the "mike." Senators, look at him, "the Divine god," a Negro man who is receiving any amount of publicity because he has posed as God. Many people in America believe that he is a god. They believe in all the "angels" that are surrounding him, who collect the money and bring home the bacon. They actually believe all that. Here in America we have a condition that is startling, and one that will gain momentum if we continue to in any way grant social equality to the colored man. Just as sure as I am speaking to the Senate, they are going to come here tomorrow and the next day and the week after, urging further privileges if this legislation is enacted. I can then hear the "angel" saying, "Boy, we sho did make a good job of that. We did pass the anti-lynching bill. The new thing we's gwine to work for now is to defeat the Jim Crow law in the South." That law, as you know, forces segregation of Negroes from whites in public conveyances.

The passage of this bill will draw the Negro closer to the social plane of the white man.

Senators, we made a valiant fight for that separation in the South, and I ask Senators in all earnestness not to disturb us but to let us handle the matter as we have in the past. Lynching has been on the decline. The Negroes are our wards. We have treated them sympathetically. We know their characteristics, and all we urge is that this problem be left to the States to handle. This problem is entirely an internal one. As I have previously said during this debate on the floor, so far as I am concerned, I shall gladly support a bill giving to the Federal Government the right and jurisdiction over such crimes of lynching as originate in one State and are accomplished in another. [A slight pause. Some one was talking to Senator ELLENDER in a low tone of voice.]

I was talking about the problem down South.

We have been doing all in our power to solve this problem. When I say "we" I mean the good people of the South. We have a few vagabonds among the white people in the South, the same as are to be found in the North. There are a few cutthroats in the North among the whites. All sorts of people are to be found in this world. But I say that the good people of the South are as much, if not more, against lynching than are the people of the North. This crime is one that is mostly intrastate. That is, the crime is one that takes place mostly within a State, and there is hardly a Southern State which does not have a law on its statute books prohibiting lynching and making it a criminal offense, and that all those who participate in or who promote the lynching are liable to punishment by hanging. We as sovereign States are willing to carry out such a law. We have been making a good job of handling this situation. Lynchings have decreased from over 300 some years back to as few as 8 last year.

There is not a crime in this country which has so declined as lynching. If Senators from the North, from the East, and from the West will let us in the South alone, I can assure them that that heinous crime is going to become a thing of the past. There is not a southern governor who is not attempting and trying by every means he knows to prevent lynching. There is not a sheriff in any of the parishes of my State or the counties of the other Southern States who is not trying to do the same thing. If let alone, we are going to succeed. If the Federal Government, however, is permitted to go down there and handle this matter, it will make as dismal a failure of it as it has done in Washington in handling crimes by Negroes. If the Federal Government is permitted to do that, the Southern States will simply step aside and say, "All right, Uncle Sam, you want to do the job? You go ahead and do it. We will let George do it." Enactment of the bill will not prevent lynchings, but on the contrary, it will increase them.

Let me go back and read about Father Divine again. I know Senators are interested in Father Divine. Of course, I do not mean to accuse anyone of belonging to his cult. However, I would not be surprised if it were found that there are some within sound of my voice today who believe that this Negro from Georgia, the son of a slave, is God, and that Faithful Mary, the author of this little green book, is an

"angel," and that Bouquet, another faithful, is an "angel." If I thought I could get results, I would ask those of my audience in the gallery who so believe to hold up their hands. But I am not going to embarrass them right now. [Laughter.]

The title of this little book is "God—He Is Just a Natural Man." The title of this particular article is "'Divine' in Politics." Remember, the article is not headed "Divine Politics," but it is headed "'Divine' in Politics." [Laughter.]

Let us see what Faithful Mary has to say about Divine in politics and what, as an angel, as a close bodyguard to him, she may have overheard him say. Being an angel, sitting on the throne with him and next to him, she ought to know all about him. [Laughter.] Now let us see what this faithful soul, this faithful angel, has to tell us about her "god":

It is Divine's aim to become a political factor. Many of his lawyers have allied themselves to him with that thought in their minds.

I wonder why "god" Divine should get the lawyers with him?

They, as well as Divine, realize the potential power at the polls of his thousands of followers.

Lawyers seem to be good politicians. [Laughter.]

In the past many candidates seeking to be elected have appeared in the "kingdom" of Divine and spoken to his followers in an attempt to win their votes. Any candidate is privileged to come and speak in the "kingdom."

This is faithful Mary speaking—

Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia, of New York City, former Mayor John O'Brien, and congressional and senatorial candidates have spoken before Divine's followers.

Faithful Mary says:

Former Mayor John O'Brien and congressional and senatorial candidates have spoken before Divine's followers.

As I said a while ago, one of the authors of this bill, Senator ROBERT WAGNER, happens to be from New York. I do not know how long he has been in the Senate, but I presume that Angel Mary would not misrepresent things, and apparently congressional and senatorial candidates have spoken before Divine's followers.

"Divine" has never pledged himself to any particular party or candidate but has always stated that he leaves it to his followers to be guided by their higher intuitions.

Imagine "god" entrusting a thing like politics to his followers. He might be giving to his followers more power than he claims for himself. Think of it!

However, there was a rumor that he supported LaGuardia.

Just a rumor.

He did not come out and support LaGuardia before election. Though after election when LaGuardia won, he claimed that it was his power which elected him to office.

Of course he wanted to get close to LaGuardia.

He is clever enough not to put himself on the spot by picking a candidate.

He was afraid he might pick the loser as some other politicians do. [Laughter.]

He has sold his followers on the idea that he will control the Presidency in the year of 1940.

Remember this is Sister Mary, one of the angels of one of Divine's heavens in Harlem.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. Not now. She is mighty close to "god" Divine; I suppose she rubs elbows with her "god." And here is Angel Mary warning the people of this country, telling the American people—listen:

He has sold his followers on the idea that he will control the Presidency in the year of 1940.

By the eternal, if Father Divine can control 30,000,000 people in this country, I will say to the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] that he might be able to control the election in 1940. Watch out!

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. If Father Divine can control the Senate in 1938, is there not some basis for his pretensions that he might control the Presidency in 1940?

Mr. ELLENDER. I leave the Senator to drawn on his own imagination. [Laughter.]

Mr. CONNALLY. I said "if." I did not say he was going to do it. I said "if" he could do it.

Mr. ELLENDER. Certainly; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me ask the Senator if it were permissible under the rules for the Senator to yield in order that a quorum might be called and be present, so that all Senators who are supposed to be for this bill might hear the Senator from Louisiana, would he or not be agreeable to that suggestion?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not care to yield for that purpose.

Mr. CONNALLY. I understand; but, if it were permissible, would not the Senator be willing?

Mr. ELLENDER. I cannot yield except for a question, but some Senators have shown little interest in the past. I suppose Senators are attending to other official business. I would rather not yield for a quorum call.

Mr. CONNALLY. I did not ask the Senator to yield. I said "if it were permissible for the Senator to yield."

Mr. ELLENDER. I would yield if it were permissible, but under the rules, if I should yield for a quorum call in order that Senators might come into the Chamber and hear what Sister Mary, one of the angels of Divine, has to say, I might not later be permitted to tell them about it. Besides I am not tired.

Let us see what else is said by this angel who knows what she is talking about, for she is very close to Divine:

He believes that he can do what Townsend and Coughlin failed to do. He has stated to me that he will then have enough money to spend a million dollars a day during the height of the campaign.

I wonder where he will get that amount of money?

He says that money will buy anything.

Mr. President, did you ever hear of such a perverted mind for a "god"? Here is a "god" who is at the head of 30,000,000 people who says that money will buy anything—a "god" speaking.

He himself will not run but will back white converts of his in the Democratic and Republican primaries. There are men in public office now willing to have the backing of "Divine"—

I presume there are—

and will be under his dictates.

Is that true? Listen to what Angel Mary says. I will repeat it.

There are men—

Listen well to this, Senators—

in public office now who are willing to have the backing of "Divine" and will be under his dictates. This—

Says Angel Mary—

This "Divine" has told me—

There is no question about its authenticity. Angel Mary was told by her "god" what I have just read, so there cannot be any doubt about it, because I presume an angel would not lie. [Laughter.]

I continue the reading:

His followers created a lot of attention when they attempted to register for voting under their kingdom names, such as—

Listen to this mockery—

Sweet Charity, Loviness, Sweet Rebecca, etc. The board of elections attempted to stop them but eventually by the court's order they were allowed to vote under these names.

Imagine that! They were allowed to vote under the "angelic" names which were conferred upon them by "god"—Sister Magdalen, Sister Bouquet, Sister Rebecca. The authorities permitted these "angels," under those names, to

come and vote for a person who was running for public office.

This was a wonderful publicity stunt for "Divine," for the eyes of the politicians were turned upon him.

In January 1936 the righteous government convention of Father Divine's peace mission was held at the St. Nicholas Palace in New York. Various political parties were invited to send their representatives. The hall was packed with thousands of followers from all parts of the country. The March of Time was there filming this spectacular demonstration.

Just imagine, Senators, this "god" drew so much attention by his practices that he was not only publicized in most of the newspapers of the country, in many of the magazines, as I have shown, in several books that were written about him, but also in the movies. And here is another book from which I am going to read after a while, entitled "God in a Rolls-Royce." Think of "god" riding in a Rolls-Royce down Fifth Avenue and through the streets of Harlem, with a stuffed dove of peace on his radiator, surrounded by his "angels," and having one, I imagine, driving his car.

Various political parties were invited to send their representatives. The hall was packed with thousands of followers from all parts of the country. The March of Time was there filming this spectacular demonstration. When the camera was focused upon the audience, Divine asked the people to pull out their white handkerchiefs and wave them while singing to the music which was being played. Each person generally had two white handkerchiefs to wave. This was psychology on the part of Divine to exaggerate his numerical strength for the benefit—

Of what? Of followers? No—
of politicians.

That is what Sister Mary says. In other words, here was "god" with 30,000,000 subjects trying to fool the politicians. Think of it! [Laughter.]

"Divine" was in all his power that night. Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, and Communist representatives were there. All of these speakers were pouring out the philosophy of their parties and at the same time paying homage to "Divine", who sat there in his chair upon the platform, smiling at his triumphal entrance into politics.

The Communist Party has flirted with Divine, making advances to him, but to no avail, as he refuses to come out openly for communism—

This is Sister Mary speaking—
though he has gone so far as to have his followers turn out and parade with the Communists.

But yet he is not for them, so "Angel Mary" says.
Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MINTON in the chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question; yes, sir.
Mr. BONE. I wonder if the Senator has seen the current issue of the Washington News, containing an article by a prominent Washington, D. C., writer, Max Stern, who quotes from southern newspapers, including two newspapers from the Senator's State—the New Orleans Tribune and the New Orleans Item—and also a quotation from the Gallup poll, showing the percentage of southern voters favoring the Federal antilynching bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have not, Mr. President.
Mr. BONE. May I give this newspaper to the Senator?
Mr. ELLENDER. I shall be glad to have the Senator hand it to me now; and at the conclusion of my remarks, if I am able meanwhile to look at the article and comment on it, I shall be glad to do so. If I cannot do it today, I shall be glad to look at it a little later.

Mr. BONE. I am glad to hand the newspaper to the Senator. May I make a further inquiry of him?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.
Mr. BONE. That is my purpose.
Mr. ELLENDER. All right.

Mr. BONE. The Senator has made a very remarkable speech, in which he has clung very closely to his text. I have enjoyed hearing the Senator's discussion of the historical background of many of the matters to which he has adverted.

I am wondering what he thinks of the fact that in the first quarter of this century the white race engaged in a war in which more human beings were butchered than in a thousand years before, these thousand years stretching back through the Dark Ages and encompassing some of the greatest wars in all human history—a war, by the way, that did not involve the so-called colored races.

Mr. ELLENDER. Of course, I do not know what is in the Senator's mind; but, as the Senator realizes, countries as a whole are very much like human beings. They have lust. They want power. They want this and they want that. I believe the powers that engaged in the war to which the Senator refers may not have thought in the light of what the people of their respective countries desired but thought of what was desired by the leaders at the head of those countries who were lustful for power.

As I showed yesterday, I think, a good many countries have lost their power, not because of mongrelization, as I indicated in answer to two or three questions, but many countries have suffered submission because they have been taken over by brute force. In this discussion I am not trying to advert to the downfall of countries other than those which have fallen because of mongrelization. I did not go into other phases of the subject. As the Senator knows, I have limited my discussion solely to some of those countries whose civilization has decayed because of the fact that their ancient culture became mongrelized.

Mr. BONE. I was asking the Senator about the effect of the impact of war on a so-called white civilization and a white culture. Does the Senator believe that another great world war, in which we, together with the other white races of the earth, should engage, might be disastrous in its effects on the white race and on so-called white culture?

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes. I fear this, Mr. President. Of course, I may be wrong about it, but I do not like what is going on today in the Far East with reference to Japan and China. I fear that if China and Japan finally unite—remember, they are both of the Mongolian race—and if Japan is able to make good soldiers of the Chinese people, at a time not far distant, there may be a contest between the white and the Mongolian races, if that is what the Senator has in mind.

I do not fear, however, that the white race will fail to survive and maintain its supremacy, because of the advancement of science, inventions, warfare, and everything else. I believe that the Mongolian race and lower classes of races are in the nature of copyists when it comes to scientific inventions. They are great imitators; and, if the result of such a contest were left strictly to the genius of the white race in comparison with the genius of the Mongolian and the other lower races, I am not troubled as to what may befall the white race.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.
Mr. REYNOLDS. In pursuance of the inquiry directed to the able Senator from Louisiana by the able Senator from Washington, is it not true that the white races have declared wars upon each other; but is it not also true that those in the Far East, the Mongolians, war against one another without ever taking the trouble to declare war?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is what is happening today in China. I do not know whether or not it is customary in that part of the world.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?
Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. BONE. Is the moral effect of war any less devastating and demoralizing and degrading by reason of the fact that there is not a formal declaration of war, or does the moral degradation arise from the fact of war itself?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not think it makes any difference.
Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. REYNOLDS. Does not the Senator think there really is a moral obligation on the part of those warring without declaring war to let their adversaries know they are coming

to kill them, so that those whom it is proposed to kill may have an opportunity to keep from being killed?

Mr. ELLENDER. As I said, I do not think that makes much difference, because they will be killed either way it goes. [Laughter.]

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. BONE. Does the Senator feel that a man who is killed in an undeclared war is any less dead than a man who is killed in a perfectly properly declared war, started according to the noble rules of this game called war?

Mr. ELLENDER. No, indeed; they are both dead. [Laughter.]

Mr. POPE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. POPE. I have listened with a great deal of interest to the recital of the exploits of Father Divine. I am wondering if the Senator thinks those exploits are confined to any one race. Does not the Senator have in mind instances of white persons conducting the same sort of a performance, or persons of the yellow races, or of any other race or class or group of people in the world? Would they not be likely to do the same sort of thing if they could do so, and get money, and get power, and have numerous followers?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the Senator from Idaho need not go beyond the city of Washington to find that out. There are such persons here in the city of Washington—high-jackers, racketeers, men who have no moral standing. They exist all over the country. That is what I told the Senator and the Senate a while ago—that down South today, in Louisiana, in my own parish, where I live, within a stone's throw of my home, probably, there are white men who, morally speaking, are only about 6 inches high. They do not have morals. When a few persons of that kind get together and lynch a poor colored man, as often happens, the history of lynching in the South will show that it has often happened that these small gangs were led by men low in morals. I say it is an indictment of the good people of the South to come before Congress now and bring up a bill that tells us that we do not know how to handle our own internal affairs—

Mr. POPE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a further question, but after the Senator asks it I should like to make further answer to his first question.

Mr. POPE. The question in my mind is as to the point the Senator desires to make with reference to the particular individual who is carrying on this sort of a racket, and the fact that he is a Negro. A white man might do the same thing; so what is the point of emphasizing the fact that he is a Negro rather than a white man?

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I said a while ago that a few white men might do that; they might have a dozen or so followers; but they, so to speak, would peter out in a few days or a few weeks, when they were caught up with; but I am told that Father Divine is still going strong, and that he is still being catered to in politics.

In further answer to the Senator's question as to whether or not any whites joined these cults, I say that they did. The little red or brown book that I have here gives examples of it. I wish I had time to read them. It is only 2:30 o'clock now. I may have time before 5 o'clock. It may be that I can cite a few instances to illustrate exactly the point about which the Senator has just asked, and that is, that of these so-called "gods"—these "voodoo men" as they are termed in our section—I am going to show you an example, a case in which one of these "angels" was a white man, and this "angel" represented to a young, 16-year-old girl from Denver that she was to be the Virgin Mary, that she was immaculate; and I will show what happened to that "gentleman."

I am going to read now from the Daily Mirror. I will ask the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. REYNOLDS] not to go away. This is very interesting.

I read from the Daily Mirror, New York, Friday, July 2, 1937. Listen well! I am not going to discuss it. I am merely going to read it, and then let the Senate draw its own conclusions:

Hunt finds "peace" in jail cell.

Hunt is the man who was accused of the crime.

LOS ANGELES, July 1.—Wearing trousers and blouse of rough, blue denim for the first time in his life, John Wuest Hunt, heir to a lollipop fortune and follower of Father Divine, colored cult leader, today wielded a mop in his jail cell here while awaiting sentence as a Mann Act violator.

Hunt, who called himself "Jesus the Christ"—

I do not see how Divine could permit one of his followers to call himself "Jesus the Christ" when Divine claimed that he was "god." Anyway, this fellow Hunt, who was dubbed "Jesus the Christ"—

in the fanatical cult, said that he seduced Delight Jewett, 17, Denver schoolgirl, to "provide the world with a new redeemer."

Think of that—"to provide the world with a new redeemer," so as possibly to oust Father Divine. [Laughter.]

A Federal jury found him guilty last Wednesday of transporting the girl to his Beverley Hills home here for immoral purposes. Up for sentence tomorrow, he faces 5 years in Federal prison on McNeil Island.

Hunt was optimistic over his fate.

Think of that—optimistic, hopeful, confident.

"I have found peace and prison bars cannot change it," he said. "I wired Father Divine after the jury had been out 8 hours that I was serene and unsullied. They may imprison my body, but they cannot imprison my spirit."

This is "Jesus" speaking.

"If it is decreed that I spend 5 years in prison I will remain placid. I have found peace."

This is "Jesus Christ," a disciple of "god," finding peace in a jail cell.

"Besides, I need a rest. I need time to work on a book I am writing."

Three codefendants with Hunt, Howard B. ("John the Baptist") Smith—

Another "angel" I suppose. [Laughter.]

Mrs. Agnes ("Mary Magdalene") Gardner.

I thought she was the authoress of the book I have here, but I see it was written by "Faithful Mary." [Laughter.]

And Mrs. Betty ("Peaceful Mary") Peters, all members of the New York cult, were acquitted. They had accompanied Hunt and the girl here from Denver in Hunt's \$12,000 automobile.

Mr. President, that is the case where one of Father Divine's disciples represented himself to be Jesus, and after representing himself as Jesus, seduced this young girl, and was helped by three other "angels" from some of these "heavens" of Father Divine.

I continue reading from the book by "Faithful Mary." I was reading from the last paragraph on page 44:

The Communist Party has flirted with Divine, making advances to him, but to no avail, as he refuses to come out openly for Communism, though he has gone so far as to have his followers turn out and parade with the Communists. He has done this with the thought in mind of the publicity resulting in his participating in a Communist demonstration.

Many political leaders appearing before the followers of Father Divine have committed themselves indirectly to calling Divine "god."

Mr. President, that is how far these politicians go, and I think I pointed out yesterday from an article appearing in the Forum that Mayor LaGuardia accepted an invitation to one of these meetings, and did tell Father Divine that, so far as he (LaGuardia) was concerned, Father Divine was "god," or some words to that effect. I do not want to misquote him, but as I remember, he said something of the like.

Some, in an attempt to make an impression upon the followers with their hypocritical selves, have actually called him "god."

Of course, these are nonbelievers, but they have called him "god" because they want help from him.

At the peace conference, held at St. Nicholas Palace, in January 1936, a representative of one of the major political parties cited a point that the Communists did not believe that there is a God. In his speech he pointed out the destruction of churches in Russia, by the Communists, to bear out what he was saying. While speaking, he turned to Divine who was sitting on the platform, and said: "But we know that there is a God."

This remark won the approval of the followers, for they cried out in unity, "Yes, there is 'god.'" And the politician smiled, feeling that he had played his hand well.

If I knew "Faithful Mary," who wrote this book, I would try to find out from her who that politician was. [Laughter.]

Divine has not yet succeeded in making his organization felt in the political world. He made a public threat to keep his followers away from the polls in the last election, but if they stayed away, their votes were not missed by the sizable election returns from districts where his followers were thickly populated.

Mr. President, this gives a very vivid impression of what one of the "angels" of this "god" thinks of her god, not as a god, but as a politician. There are some very interesting sidelights in this little green book, but I hardly think I will have time this afternoon to read them to the Senate. I invite Senators, and others who are present, including all the pages, to read the book. It is very interesting. To my mind it again demonstrates the return of the Negro to the barbaric lunacy of dark Africa to which I referred awhile ago.

I now wish to quote from the other volume, which was written on this "god of gods," a book entitled "God in a Rolls-Royce." [Laughter.] Think of that, not in a chariot, but in a Rolls-Royce. The book is by John Hoshor. I will read the first chapter. I do not know how interesting the first chapter is going to be, but I thought I would pass on a few stanzas of it to the Senators.

Mr. BONE. Is this fiction?

Mr. ELLENDER. No, indeed; it is divine. [Laughter.] There is no fiction about it; it is written about a god; it is a divine writing. That is how I would class it. The title of chapter 1 is "It's Wonderful." [Laughter.] Let us see if it is wonderful—

Since early morning there has been a cold, penetrating March blizzard. Since early morning a mass of more than a thousand colored men and women, interspersed generously with whites, have crowded together on the steps of the building which houses the fifth district magistrates' court of New York City, and, like too much cane sirup on a piece of corn pone, have overflowed onto the sidewalk and into the street.

Here and there some are protecting themselves from the rain by gaudy colored umbrellas, others have covered their hats with newspapers now almost soaked through, but the majority pay no attention to the rain, although wet to the skin and chilled to the bones. Nor has the state of the weather dampened their ardor as all are singing Blessed Be Thy Holy Name, Father Divine; I Love the Sweet Body of God.

Mr. President, those are the titles of the songs the congregation were singing. The author of the hymns is not given, but I presume they sprang from the mind of the "god" himself, judging by the sacredness of the titles. I repeat, one of the songs was Blessed Be Thy Holy Name, Father Divine, and the next one was I Love the Sweet Body of God. Then they were singing also I Have a Million Blessings. That is the title of another one of their songs.

And tacked on to the chorus of each song is a long chant in which the words "He's God, he's God, he's God" are repeated countless times.

An hour later the doors of the building are thrown open. Witnesses, attorneys, and others with business in the court arrive, but are hardly able to squirm through the wet throng to the entrance. The crowd does not go inside.

Some irritated clerk telephones the police and a minute before Magistrate Anthony J. Burke drives up in a popular-priced coupe, five mounted policemen appear and, forcing the mob back on each side, open a narrow pathway from the sidewalk to the doorway. The magistrate is puzzled.

Addressing the nearest Negro as he steps from his car, he questioned, "What's going on here? What's the meaning of this performance?"

"We's all waiting for Father Divine, Brother."

[Laughter.]

That is from one of the followers of Father Divine who answers the judge who was coming there to pass sentence on

"god." When this follower was asked what all the trouble was about, he said, "We is all waiting for Father Divine, Brother." In other words, he called the magistrate "Brother."

"Who is Father Divine?"

"He is God, Brother; yas, suh, God Himself."

All morning and into the middle of the afternoon the rain continues, but the brown mass remains stationary, singing, chanting, and praising Father Divine. The mounted officers are relieved at noontime by colleagues, but Father Divine's adherents choose rather to miss a meal than to miss him.

At 3:30 in the afternoon an exultant cry arises almost simultaneously from every voice in the crowd, "God's here, God's here." A shiny, dark blue Rolls-Royce town car, with raindrops glistening on its hood and top, is creeping slowly up the street. On each side is a running escort of 20 or 30 disciples.

Sitting next to the colored chauffeur, who wears an Oxford gray chauffeur's uniform and cap, is an equally conservative uniformed footman. The car is a recent model, in strictly Park Avenue condition. In spite of the thickness of massed followers on every side, the car somehow reaches the curb, and an adherent on the sidewalk cheats the footman by opening the rear door.

If an angel with wings of gold suddenly flew out through the top of the car, a mere spectator looking on for the first time would hardly be more surprised. A middle-aged, coffee-colored, little man emerges. He is so short that from a distance of about three rows of packed disciples one is able to see only the top of his pearl gray hat. But the frenzy of the shouting, gesticulating throng is in reverse proportion to the size of the man. Moans of ecstasy arise from the throats of the followers, and take the form of such exclamations as "He's God, He's God, He's God," "Isn't he sweet?", and "It's wonderful!" Big fat mammals, broad-shouldered bucks, high yallers, bright-skinned girls, white-haired patriarchs, mulattoes, creoles, and here and there an intelligent-looking white man or woman, unconsciously try to outdo one another in their expression of enthusiasm and heartfelt praises. An adherent with a large purple umbrella walks alongside Father Divine protecting him from the rain. The latter stoically accepts the adulations of one and all, merely answering, "Peace."

Not "hello," but "peace."

Accompanied by a voluptuously heavy, brown, moon-faced woman who wears her radiance like a new gown and proudly bears her excessive weight like a general on parade, Father Divine and his angel No. 1, "Faithful Mary," leisurely climb the steps and enter the building.

A skinny black youth, not yet old enough to vote, wearing a dirty colored hat that had long since lost all shape, coat and pants which even had holes in the patches, and run-over worn-out shoes three sizes too large, shuffled up to another Negro lad of somewhat similar age who sat on a bench in Central Park not far from where Lenox Avenue starts its wide crawl through the Harlem tenements.

"You all live in New York?" the former asked.

"Yeah, on 117 Street."

"Y'all work?"

"Not for 2 years—hain't been able to git a job."

"Why?"

"Jist wond'ed. Thought maybe y'all'd lend a hungry fellow a dime so's he could eat. Ah hain't had nothin' but a bowl of soup since ah got out of jail in Petersburg, Va., 3 days ago."

"You from Virginia?"

"No; Geo'ga, Columbus, Geo'ga. Ah left there couple weeks ago to hitchhike to New Yo'k. Cops put me in jail in Petersburg when they found me sleepin' in the pa'k."

"Where'd'y sleep last night?"

"Unde' the bushes here in the pa'k."

"How'd'y like some fried chicken, candied sweet potatoes, boiled cabbage, string beans, hot muffins, apple pie—all y' can eat—and coffee with cream—all y' can drink?"

The starving lad's mouth watered as he listened to the other spread such visions before him. "Ah'd think ah was in heav'n."

"C'mon, that's where we're goin'—to heaven. Ah've been eating there for 2 years—ever since ah lost m' job."

He took the other by the arm. They left the park, and walking up Lenox Avenue turned east at One Hundred and Fifteenth Street to Father Divine's Peace Mission.

Before they reached there the Harlem youth told how Father Divine had missions all over the world, how every day he fed thousands and thousands of hungry people without charging them a cent, all the food they could eat, chicken, duck, turkey, pork chops, spareribs, everything that was good. He gave them clothes and a place to sleep, and if they wanted to work he found jobs for them.

"But," inquired the wondering southerner, "where does he git all the money? He mus' be awfu' rich."

"He's the riches' man in the whole world."

"He sure mus' be wonderful."

"Wonderful! He's God, that's what he is."

Senators, I read this little article just to show how Father Divine gets some of his adherents to his religion. I do not mean to say that Father Divine has not done some good work in the Harlem district, but the thing that bothers me is the method used by him; how he gets his money, how he is able to get followers, not only in Harlem but, as has

been shown, all over the United States. I fear that if we in the South are confronted with a man of the powers of Father Divine, and the colored folks would be given the power of the ballot the same as they have it in other parts of this country, we might have sitting here in the Senate a few gentlemen we would not like to associate with socially very much. I should not want that to happen.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. BONE. Does the Senator find any parallel in the situation described in the book he has been reading and the experience of one great modern nation which represents a considerable segment of the white race, to which is attributed by the press of the country an official move to get rid of the Christian Trinity or the so-called Christian theology, and substitute Woden and Thor and mythology for the Christian religion?

Mr. ELLENDER. In reply to the Senator from Washington, I will say I do believe there is such a move going on in a few countries. I do not know the details.

Mr. BONE. I mentioned no country.

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know the details at present, but it is my recollection that a movement was started in Mexico not long ago to oust Catholicism, and that such a movement was started in other countries. I have not familiarized myself with the conditions leading to those changes. I am not familiar with the facts except casually.

It was my purpose to devote my time and my efforts solely to a discussion of countries where decay of civilization, progress, art, and literature set in by reason of the amalgamation of the predominant white race in those particular countries with the colored people who were brought there and enslaved. I think the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] will agree with me, if he has either heard or read parts of my speeches with reference to Egypt and India, that there were civilizations in each of those countries which were of a very high order. The people were progressive and well advanced in all the arts and sciences and had considerable knowledge of surgery. As I have pointed out, the scientists of today are employing methods which were used back in the early Egyptian days. That shows how far advanced that ancient civilization was.

India had an advanced civilization. That country had advanced a considerable distance in its knowledge of surgery. The moment the rigid rules of the old caste system in India were relaxed, however, and the intermarriage of the white people with dark races was permitted, degradation set in, so that today India, a country which at one time was proud of its heritage because of its advances in agriculture, in science, and in every other line, has lost all of its former glory. Today science of medicine in India is nil. I am sure the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE] is familiar with some recent Indian history which shows that those people believed in and practiced voodooism the same as Father Divine is attempting to practice and will succeed in putting over here in America if he is permitted to go on unmolested.

As I pointed out, when discussing Indian and Egyptian history, I showed that their early religion contained some of the dogmas and doctrines that are now taught and that are now believed in by civilized peoples of today, but when there was a mongrelization of the white races, that first occupied those progressive countries, with the colored races, what happened? A decline will be noted in their religion and a return to the barbaric religious beliefs of Africa, in which the people prayed to elephants, goats, chickens, doves of peace, and things of that kind.

I am trying to show what could happen in this country. Father Divine says he has 30,000,000 Americans who believe in him. He, Father Divine, the son of a Negro slave, born in Georgia, says, "I am God." What will his followers choose to worship after he dies? They might easily go back to the barbaric lunacy of Africa.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. BONE. I doubt if any Member of the Senate would assert that he was an expert in matters theological, and I also assume that most of us gather what information we are able to obtain of what is happening around and going on in the world from newspapers and magazines. That is where I get my information. But has the Senator observed newspaper articles and magazine articles with reference to what has happened in Germany in an official way with respect to the substitution of a very great degree of reverence for Woden and Thor and the mythologies for the old Christian dogmas? I do not know what is happening in Germany. I merely state what I have read in magazine articles and newspaper articles.

Mr. ELLENDER. I will state to the Senator from Washington that I have not familiarized myself with modern religious trends in Germany. I have read casually on the subject, but have never made a study of it. While on the subject I wish to say something about a country close to Germany. I wish to say something about France. France today, to my way of thinking, is heading toward a degradation of her civilization, just as in the case of Egypt and of India, unless she curbs the mixing of the whites and the Negroes.

As we all know, France has a colony in Africa not very far from her own shores, and there is no inhibition against bringing into France inhabitants of that colony. As is well known, many of the soldiers who were sent from this country to fight in France were colored men belonging to colored regiments, and it is a historical fact—I have seen it stated in print on many occasions—that our Negro soldiers left quite a good many descendants in France. I have seen that statement in writing many times. I do not know how many were left, but I am told the number amounts to thousands. On the streets of Paris, the streets of Lyons, Marseille, and other cities in France it is not at all unusual to see quite a number of colored children who were born during the World War and who were the offspring of some of our American colored soldiers. If that were the only mongrelization affecting France, I should say that it might not hurt, because there is not a sufficient number of such mongrels to injure the race. In the case of a race which is only slightly mongrelized, not mongrelized too far; in other words, let us say that the country has 50,000 mongrels out of an entire population of 50,000,000—ethnologists maintain that if no other mongrelization sets in, if no other impure blood comes in, in the course of a few generations, notwithstanding the fusion of the mongrel into the community and the mixture of that mongrel blood with that of the dominant whites, that mongrel blood will soon work itself out.

Besides suffering because some American Negro soldiers who went to fight in France left some of their descendants there, France has not taken steps to prevent the immigration of Negro population from across the Mediterranean Sea, from northern Africa, and it is thought that if France does not put a stop to that influx of Negroes, does not prevent its Negro colonists from coming across the Mediterranean into France and mixing with the French people, France, sooner or later, is headed for a mongrelization of its pure white race; and, in that event, I predict that the civilization of France, its fine arts, its medicine, its science, its culture, is going down to decay to the same extent as did the arts, the culture, the literature and the science of Egypt and India and little Haiti, and that the fate of France will be the same.

Now, Mr. President, let me go back to "god"—this "god" who rides in a Rolls-Royce. By the way, before I forget it, let me say that, in answer to a question by the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], I spoke of the degradation of religion in India. I am sure that most of those who hear me have read about Mahatma Ghandi, the great Indian reformer. The reason I mention him now is that he is mentioned very prominently in this book. The author of the book seeks to make some kind of comparison between Father Divine and Mahatma Ghandi, and to show that in some respect they seem to agree on certain religious principles.

Unlike Ghandi, who declared he was "literally sick of adoration of the unthinking multitude," the plaudits of his listeners are

meat and drink to Father Divine. After interminable, repetitious verbosity saturated with polysyllabic words, into which, like an empty bottle, his hearers could pour any meaning they wished, yet with each sound mortised together by a crescendo of intensity, the colored lord climaxes his ambiguity by paraphrasing Mae West's "How'm I doin'?" with "Now, isn't that wonderful?" and his proselytes, sozzled with enthusiasm, cry out in one concordant voice, "Wonderful, God; truly wonderful."

He quotes nobody. His own word is sufficient authority. Once in a great while he will refer casually to the "first four books of the New Testament," or for purposes of illustration repeat a passage from the Scriptures; but, unlike the average preacher, who uses a Biblical text for the foundation of his sermon, Father Divine uses quotations from the Scripture as a very minor adjunct.

In other words, if a person were to read this book, he would be bound to conclude from the fact that Father Divine calls himself "god" and that he has created "angels" to sit around him, that he has forsaken the Christian religion which is now dominant in our country.

I venture to say that if Father Divine were permitted to go on unrestrained, the chances are that this civilized country of ours might revert to the barbaric lunacy which is practiced in darkest Africa. It may take some time for this to come about, but all that Father Divine needs in order to come through all right is a little time, a little encouragement, and a little money, and a little more power so that he can deliver to some of the politicians scattered throughout the country, who are willing to sacrifice our American civilization in order to attain selfish, petty offices for themselves.

In speaking he makes full use of his arms, feet, body, and of facial expressions. With his arms reaching, but not stretched, towards his audience, the elbows slightly bent and his hands turned inward, as though he is ready to pull his heart from his body, he tells them: "When I say make your mental and your spiritual contact—"

This is Father Divine speaking; this is one of his doctrines; listen to it—

"When I say make your mental and your spiritual contact, it means to contact me by harmonizing with my views and dialing in on the same, by doing exactly what I would have you do." Also, "How can you make your contact if you are living in races, creeds, and colors?"

When he speaks one appreciates the truth of the second verse of one of their more popular songs, "Father Divine has you and me in the palm of his hand."

That is the title of one of the popular songs. I will repeat the title.

"Father Divine has you and me in the palm of his hand." (In the other verses he has, respectively, the world, the politicians, and the President in the palm of his hand.)

Think of that!—

In between their hallelujahs, he impresses on them, "This truth has been birthed out."

In other words born in me. He continues, "It is not confined to a person or persons, but is with the sonship degree of God, which am I. It's wonderful. It's brought into experience and manifested by one even so is the fatherhood degree, which am I. It can be universalized. I spoke last night through the telephone, but I don't have to speak through the telephone. I am everywhere. It is a blessing that one is ignorant enough to be radical enough to visualize some that has been materialized. The same can be expressed by someone else." And plagiarizing the question Jesus Christ asked the apostles, he loudly inquired:

"What do you call me?"

They answered, "God," and almost swoon in their own enthusiasm.

That is how this cult is hypnotized by this son of an ex-Negro slave, and I am just wondering what is going to happen when poor Father Divine dies, and where he is going.

This book is very, very interesting. I could read all of it to you, but it would take quite a while, perhaps a little longer than I or you should like to stay here tonight; so I shall select a few passages from it, just a few little scattered paragraphs here and there. I am going to tell the Senate the title of this book again, so that Senators will have the opportunity of getting the book from the Library and reading it, I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge], and digesting it, so that they may see for themselves to what extent this "god" has been able to obtain followers and to collect millions of dollars, apparently, in order to carry on, as I have been demonstrating to the Senate.

Here is what one of the disciples, Brother Lamb, said:

Brother Lamb also stated that the "accident of our complexions was in no way related to the purity of our souls," and that we were all equal members of the family of God. The divine disciples live this truth and "when they enter a restaurant and some are refused service they all decline to eat there and leave."

Here is an innovation that Father Divine is practicing. In other words, if Angel Mary or Angel Bouquet happens to go into some restaurant on Fifth Avenue, and is refused admittance and permission to eat there, the rest of the cult soon know it, and they keep away from that restaurant. I wonder if the proprietor is angry about it! [Laughter.]

A drive has already been started in Baltimore, according to Brother Lamb, to wipe out racial discrimination there.

Brother Lamb, one of the disciples, one who lives in heaven, is working in Baltimore, trying to wipe out racial discrimination there. I desire to state that before I get through today it is my purpose to read to the Senate the platform that this "god" is preaching throughout the Nation.

The local leader is a disciple "of our complexion," and is being assisted by Father's spirit and the other children.

To the question why he selected that particular spiritual name, Brother Lamb replied, "That describes my ideal of life."

In other words, "What is your name?" "Brother Lamb." "Why were you called 'Brother Lamb'?" "Because that describes my ideal of life."

Asked about politics, Brother Lamb told on one hand of the attempt of the politicians to get Father's support and votes, and on the other hand of Father's continual harassment by the minor officials of the health, fire, and building departments in New York City.

"They impose on us," he stated, "rules and regulations that they overlook in every other building in Harlem."

"Why doesn't Father Divine use his political influence on them?" he was asked.

"Father wouldn't do that; he works only through the spirit," was the answer. Continuing, Brother Lamb spoke of a woman judge who the day before had come to Father to ask his cooperation in establishing an institution for prostitutes. He added, "Father doesn't believe in that either, but perhaps some basis of cooperation can be found."

"Why are there so few missions in the South?" the questioner desired to know.

"Father has missions in all the important large cities of the South. Many more down there would like to join with Father, but they are afraid of the civil authorities."

That is down South. They are not so much afraid of the civil authorities down there as they are of the law itself which prevents the practice of such religious cults as operate in Harlem. We do not permit it down there.

"Many more down there would like to join with Father, but they are afraid of the civil authorities." Brother Lamb agreed that Father's work was facing very great difficulties below the Mason and Dixon's line.

You may bet your last dollar he told the truth that time!

The next paragraph is devoted to a person to whom I paid my respects awhile ago, by the name of John Wuest Hunt, who seduced a young girl from Denver. It is not my purpose to read the life history of that follower of Father Divine.

Now let me come to Lily Dove. Lily Dove happened to be another "angel" of Father Divine, one of those glorified "angels" selected to associate in "heaven" with Father Divine. [Laughter.]

Lily Dove, a coal black, baby-faced girl about 25, who works in the front office of the Spoken Word, pointed to a facsimile of a postcard recently carried in that publication. The original postcard had been mailed from China to "God, Harlem, New York, U. S. A.," and delivered to Father Divine.

That was the only address on that postcard—just "God, Harlem, New York"—and of course Angel Lily Dove was very much gratified to find out that a postcard sent from China, thousands of miles away, merely addressed "God, Harlem, New York," had reached the "Father," the "god." She was so proud of it that they made facsimiles of this postcard, and are showing it throughout the country. I am again stretching my imagination—so that new adherents of this cult may be made. I can just imagine these poor people saying, "Why, God is known everywhere. He's known

out in China. We've got a postcard from China. The only address on that postcard was 'God, Harlem, N. Y.,' and she just come away to Harlem! Therefore, we're sure that God is known away out in China!"

The girl disciple stated:

"The Government don't recognize Father's 'Peace', and they make us pay double postage; but that shows they know who he is all right; they know he's God."

When, a few minutes earlier, a nonbelieving visitor had accidentally knocked several copies of the religious periodical off a desk onto the floor and offered his courteous apologies, "I'm sorry," etc., to Lily, she smilingly answered:

"Why be sorry? It's wonderful."

Whether she was referring to the law of gravity or just life in general, she didn't specify.

But continuing on in reference to the postcard, she added that "Residents of China have his address, and it's the destination of travelers from Finland, Germany, Australia, South Africa, the Pacific coast, and other points throughout the world."

Apparently she liked to talk, and continued: "People have been talking about God for many years, but today, a God whom you can't see or never have any personal contact with just doesn't fill the bill. A promise of some home far beyond the clouds, with milk and honey flowing freely, really isn't what it takes to keep going down here, on terra firma. If God can't take care of me here and now, then how can I know or even believe He'll do so very much after I'm dead and gone?"

Senators, that quotation from Lily Dove, an "angel," shows a notable deviation from the Christian principles which are now being taught and which form the dominant religion in this country. As I pointed out, when there was a mongrelization in India and in Egypt, the first weakness was shown in the fact that there was a reversion from the dominant religion to the old barbaric, idolatrous religion which prevailed across the seas, whence the ancestors of the mongrels came. That was the first sign of decay. Here in this book we have quotations from the "angels" themselves, from Father Divine, "god" himself, telling what he professes and believes in; and those doctrines and principles are far removed from the dominant Christian religion which is now being practiced in civilized America. As I pointed out in the case of the other countries, the moment that sort of thing sets in—the moment you have a decay in religion you can expect mongrelization of the race and inevitably there follows decay of the civilization of the nation.

Her black, childlike countenance was deceiving. It brightened perceptibly now, as she became enthusiastic, almost inspired, about her leader, "Harlem is New York's hot spot, a melting pot where vice and crime are commonplace."

That is what she said. I am still quoting the "angel" now.

Truly, God knew where he was most needed. With the poorest housing conditions, hospitalization and educational facilities, an area where the ballot to this day hasn't even made first base, where churches, leagues, and welfare organizations haven't been able to bring about the necessary change, Father Divine has made life livable for countless thousands.

He's condescended—

She says—

to be as one with the seething masses, who have otherwise been forgotten, in their struggle for existence, and to see that they get the right to live and eat regularly. Now, all in all, I ask you, what more of a god do you want, than one who'll give you shelter, food to eat, clothes to wear, and freedom from sickness, worry, and fear? Now isn't that wonderful? And then to think he's made Harlem his home and receives his mail only a few doors up the street. It's truly wonderful, I say, don't you?"

Here is an expression from this "angel" which shows just what that faith is that is being taught by this "god"; the faith that is being followed as Father Divine's faith by 30,000,000 people, according to Father Divine, or, according to an estimate by uninterested writers, 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 people are following those teachings, as outlined by Lily Dove, who happens to be an "angel" and a very close adherent to Father Divine.

Mr. President, this illustrates that if Father Divine and his cult can keep on and get possession of one little group here, and of one little group there, and of another little group some place else, sooner or later the Senate is going to be asked to vote favorably upon bills to give to the Negro race social equality, for that is what they are after! Make no mistake about it! I propose to show to the Senate that this

principle is written in the platform of Father Divine himself. I shall read from that platform after a while.

Before I go any further in reading from this book, I want to exhibit to the Senate a picture of Father Divine. Here he is, in all his glory! Look at him! Here is "god!" [Laughter.] He is shown making a radio speech to his adherents, trying to get converts, I suppose. Does the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] see that picture? Here is Father Divine making a speech over the radio; mind you, "god" making a speech over the radio! I shall read the announcement he was making when this photograph was taken. Listen to it:

I have not yet done anything to what I will do—not so much as a percent of a percent of a percent of a fraction of a grain of what I will do universally, as well as among you.

I will read it again. Perhaps it was not understood, though I read it just as it is under the picture. This is Father Divine talking over the radio to his "angels," to his followers:

I have not yet done anything to what I will do—not so much as a percent of a percent of a percent of a fraction of a grain of what I will do universally, as well as among you.

Some of these days I am going to ask some one to tell me what that means. [Laughter.]

I continue reading from the book:

He's condescended to be as one with the seething masses, who have otherwise been forgotten, in their struggle for existence, and to see that they get the right to live and eat regularly. Now, all in all, I ask you, what more of a god do you want, than one who'll give you shelter, food to eat, clothes to wear, and freedom from sickness, worry, and fear? Now, isn't that wonderful! And then to think he's made Harlem his home and receives his mail only a few doors up the street. It's truly wonderful, I say, don't you?

As Jimmy Walker once so aptly answered, "Who could say 'No'?"

With practice Lily Dove could almost convert Satan.

Apparently both Harlem and the colored race are going to have a plethora of evangelistic orators following in the wake of Father Divine. Some of the younger among his followers, although apparently with little education, can already harangue and exhort an audience like experts. The black hope's chauffeur, known by the "angelic" name of "Mister Charlie," a gaunt, colored youth in his twenties, wearing an ordinary brown suit instead of his regular chauffeur's uniform, stood up in front of a crowd packed in the Sixty-third Street heaven and handled his listeners with the proficiency of an astute veteran.

He told them, "I heard Sister Freedom say tonight that we didn't have no plank in our Righteous Government platform about taxation and that we should adopt one. Well, I don't know anything about it, but I'm going to tell you what that plank will be."

One minute his audience was shaking the ex-armory with laughter, and the next minute there could be heard on every side, "That's Father talking through that lad," as the young orator told how—

Listen to this:

As the young orator told how "Father owned all the land in the whole world."

He was referring to Father Divine. This is what was said by the "lad", another "angel" who happened to be the chauffeur, a young man by the name of "Mr. Charlie," who had in his system a form of taxation which he wanted to give the world. Listen to what he said:

"Father owned all the land in the world and nobody hain't seen no pieces of paper with his name signed onto it selling the land to somebody else." He added that lots of people were coming around wondering "where Father git his money," and told his enthusiastic listeners that "Father, he got all the money in the Universe, but he ain't got a red cent on him."

Lighting into the politicians, he told of their shortcomings and how they had to put so many on relief because they didn't know their business, and, reaching his grand finale, he shouted:

"Father"—

That is, he is talking about Father Divine.

"Father, he gon'a drive all them crooks out of office. Maybe I'll be President."

That was his view—that he might be President. He is thinking about it.

And the way his audience laughed and applauded, maybe he would be, if they could have the say. Mister Charlie is said by some to have been a former Harlem gangster gambler and late representative of the policy game racketeers.

That is the history of Mr. Charlie, who is a chauffeur of "god," and who is now saying that maybe he is going to be President of the United States sooner or later.

I could continue reading from the life history and the views of this man who calls himself "god"—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator suspend while the Senate receives a message from the President of the United States?

Mr. ELLENDER. If I do not lose the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will not affect the Senator's right to the floor.

Mr. ELLENDER. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as I just said, I could continue reading about "Sister Bouquet" and some more about "Peaceful Mary," "Faithful Mary," "Mary Magdalene," and quite a number of others of these angelic figures who adorn the heavens in New York, probably in Indianapolis, here in Washington, and in other sections of the country, but I do not care to do so at this time. I ask Senators, and all others listening to me, including the correspondents in the press gallery, to read this book, which is very interesting. It shows what we would be headed for in this country should the Congress grant the various requests which are before us now, and others which will come just as surely as I am speaking and as certainly as there is snow on the ground outside of the Capitol Building today; that we would be headed for the same demoralization of civilization that has prevailed in India, Egypt, and Haiti, and which is now permeating certain South American countries, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, as well as France.

I do not want such a thing to come to pass in this country of ours, and as long as I am a Member of the Senate the white people of the United States can depend on the junior Senator from Louisiana to fight in every way he knows how, with all the power that is in him, for white supremacy as against an amalgamation of the races, or a mongrelization, which would lead to a deterioration of the country we all love so dearly.

I am going to skip quite a number of pages because of lack of time. The RECORD will show that I have an agreement with the Senate that I shall get through with my remarks today. However, I may say that I have enough data on my desk and around me to speak for a few more days—

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield to the Senator for a question; yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Does the Senator say that he is going to skip several pages?

Mr. ELLENDER. I will skip several pages of this book; yes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Is not the Senator afraid that if he does he will come within the recently invoked rule and lose the floor?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; I am not afraid of that. I am deliberately skipping several pages in this book. If I had not made what I consider an agreement with the Senate on yesterday that I would conclude my remarks today, I would be perfectly willing to keep on with this discussion until next week, if necessary, and I believe that I have sufficient material on hand to make this bill and other bills like it appear ridiculous, and to show what we are headed for if this country of ours were socially to recognize the Negroes of this Nation.

Oh, how I glory in the South for its fight for white supremacy!

Chapter 14 of this book is entitled "God Enters Politics." That is Father Divine. Here the Senate is going to have brought home to it what this son of a Negro slave from Georgia is preaching to his cult, and is attempting to shoulder onto the American people. He, by the way, is one who is being courted by politicians of the city and State of New York, and these politicians, in order to get support from his angels and his whole coterie, pretend to voluntarily rub elbows with him.

I read from page 236:

Speaking of politics and politicians and of his opponents who ridiculed the idea of "God entering politics," Father Divine declared:

"They have striven to keep the Christ completely out of politics, telling you God and religious people would not be in politics; in the corruptibility of the politicians and the wickedness of the wicked; He would not function in their expression—but He came among them to convert them. For this cause I am and have as much right in politics as I have in the church, and really I have more right in politics than I have in the church."

This is an expression from "god"; that he has more right, more interest, I suppose, in politics than he has in church, although he is "god."

On January 10, 11, and 12, 1936—

Listen to this. This appears on all of his stationery. Following 1936, in addition to using the usual "A. D."—"anno Domini"—he has added "F. D." He uses on his stationery "A. D. F. D."—"anno Domini Father Divine." He has gone so far as to stamp on his own literature and his own letters "A. D. F. D." Senators, think of it! Some Americans are actually following such foolishness, such an irreligious cult; following teachings that are bound to lead that cult to such a point where Christianity, although the dominant religion here, will be cast aside for the worship of onions, goats, elephants, chickens, doves, and so forth—

Father Divine's peace mission movement met in an international righteous government convention at St. Nicholas Palace in New York City and there established a platform, which is an expansion and detailed enlargement of the movement slogan, "One for all and all for one, but not for one who's not for all."

That is his slogan. I will read it again:

"One for all and all for one, but not for one who's not for all."

The politico-religious leader himself sent out personal invitations to the President of the United States, many Governors, Senators, Representatives, mayors, and other officials requesting their attendance. The following is a copy of his letter to President Roosevelt:

As I pointed out a while ago, Father Divine has been holding these hallelujah meetings to get his cult together throughout the country, and in order probably to get a large attendance, although he is "god," I will say to the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY], he seeks, apparently, the highest in society, the highest in politics, so that he can get a crowd and get more present to join the cult. I want Senators to listen to the letter that he addressed to the President.

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. GUFFEY. In respect to his desire to have a crowd does Father Divine differ from the former leader in Louisiana, Senator Long?

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator from Pennsylvania has touched a very tender spot in my heart. I wish, sir, that I had but time to talk about Huey Long. I want to tell you, sir, that before this debate ends I propose to speak again, because, as I said yesterday, so far as the junior Senator from Louisiana is concerned, he is going to remain on this floor as long as there is breath in him before that bill shall pass. I may have the opportunity to give Senators the history of the immortal Huey, a man whose name will go down in history when a good many of his critics will be forgotten before they are cold in the grave.

PEACE

January 6, 1936. A. D. F. D.—

Again "A. D. F. D." follows the 1936—

Special delivery. Registered air mail. Return receipt requested. Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, White House, Washington, D. C. Honorable sir—

Before I read from the letter itself it will be noted further on, as I said a while ago, that Father Divine at one of these meetings forgot to invite the Pope. He wanted the Pope at Rome to be there. And just to show that he is a real go-getter when it comes to trying to get a crowd, he wants big folks up there on the platform, the big white folks there to draw the crowd, and following that routine of business, in order to get the multitude there, he invites the big boys, not only the

President, but he includes the Governors, the Senators, the Representatives, and everybody else who might be significantly interested in his behavior.

I write as I wish to advise—

Speaks this "god" to the President of the United States—

I write as I wish to advise, I, Rev. M. J. Divine, my Peace Mission Movement and other Cooperating Organizations are representing righteousness, justice and truth, and have organized a righteous Government department in connection with our movement under the Constitution of the United States and in accord with same.

We are holding an International Righteous Government Convention on the tenth, eleventh and twelfth at the Rockland Palace, One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City, and the New Star Casino, One Hundred and Seventh Street, near Park Avenue, New York City, and also at the St. Nicholas Palace, 69 West Sixty-sixth Street, near Eighth Avenue, New York City, on January 10, 11, and 12.

We do hereby request the honor of your presence and any of your staff to speak on our program at any of these places on any date convenient to you.

I thank you in advance for your participation in the act of further establishing righteousness, truth, and justice for all humanity. I have sent out a general invitation to all of the leading classes of people through the New York Times, Monday the 6th, but, of course, we have sent out some special invitations to some that we consider might be interested in speaking in this great convention, and also to learn and know of our righteous government platform for which we stand, that all may be concerned might be even as I am—

Listen to this—

for this leaves me well, healthy, joyful, peaceful, lively, loving, successful, prosperous—

He must be prosperous when he has hundreds of colored followers who cling to him. I again ask the question, Where does he get the money to cement such loyalty? I think I can show that after a while.

Lively, loving, successful, and happy in spirit, mind, and body, and in every organ, muscle, sinew, vein, and bone, and even in every atom, fiber, and cell of my bodily form.

Respectfully and sincerely, I am,

Rev. M. J. DIVINE,
(Better known as Father Divine.)

M.J.Dr.

That, Senators, is a letter that the President of the United States received from this "god" to attend this convention.

There is no record of the attendance of any important Government officials at the convention; but, in one form or another, a goodly number of them sent their regrets, and the local political organizations had their observers in attendance at the convention.

The first piece of business transacted by the convention was the approval of an extra-political resolution. A disciple arose and, after he had been recognized by Chairman Madison, stated—

Listen to this. Here was the convention, which had been called to order, and I am going to tell Senators what the first resolution was. I imagine they can guess what it was before I tell them. But, anyway, one of these "angels" got up and made this motion:

I move that Father Divine is god.

[Laughter.]

He was already "god," but it seems that at this meeting he wanted it affirmatively declared by his cult, so one of his angels got up and said to the cult in convention:

I move that Father Divine is god.

The chairman put the motion to the assemblage and called for a vote. There were no nays; the resolution was passed unanimously.

At the end of the 3 days a platform had been formulated and adopted. It was divided into four sections: (1) Principles, (2) Economic, (3) Political, and (4) Educational. Under each division the main plank, racial nondiscrimination, led a wide variety of tenets on many different subjects.

Quoting, "Of one blood God formed all nations," from the Bible, they pointed out in the platform that both the Scriptures and science attested the whole human race to be essentially one. They attacked the persecution of the Jews in Germany and elsewhere, and "the oppression of all minorities," and declared that the division of humanity into political nations had led to continuous warfare and widespread poverty and distress all through the ages. For this reason they refused to identify themselves with any nation or race, but stated that, "We do endorse and support the Constitution of the United States as the foundation for all government to build upon."

They demanded immediate legislation in every State—

Your particular attention to this. Here was the convention of this cult, dominated by Father Divine, in which this demand was made.

They demanded immediate legislation in every State and county making it a crime to discriminate in any public place against any individual on account of race, creed, or color.

That is in the platform of that cult. That is what they are working toward. They desire, as fast as they can get it, not only political equality but social equality; and that is what it is coming to. Here is a cult that is more or less powerful among a certain class of those easily persuaded, demanding that every State legislature pass a law, in effect, giving to their cult and to other members of their race social equality. That is what we are headed for unless America takes heed of the warning which I have been proclaiming to the Senate with all the earnestness of my being.

I read again:

They demanded immediate legislation in every State and county making it a crime to discriminate in any public place against any individual on account of race, creed, or color; also for abolishing all segregated neighborhoods, likewise all segregated schools and colleges, and all segregated areas and churches, theaters, public conveyances, and other public places. They also call for laws making it a crime for any newspaper, magazine, or other publication to use segregated or slang words referring to race, creed, or color of any individual or group. Other legislation in reference to discrimination by the civil service and employers in general was demanded, as were laws prohibiting different wage scales or salaries for "what they term different races, creeds, or color." The group also called for the abolition in all educational institutions and in all books used for educational purposes of all references to racial conflicts or differences and to national glory through military feats.

That is what that cult, led by the "almighty" Father Divine, "god," is preaching.

The immediate repeal of all laws in the United States and elsewhere that have been passed contrary to the spirit and meaning of the Constitution of the United States was directed. Likewise, the destruction by both nations and individuals of all firearms and instruments of war within their borders, except those actually needed for law enforcement.

They demanded the repeal of all laws providing for any form of compulsory insurance. The platform quoted Father Divine to the effect, "As far as taking out insurances, we will not tolerate it, and I would tell the President so"; and that if necessary they would break the law instead of taking out "insurance to mistrust God and visualize disappointments, failures, accidents, and disasters."

The abolishment of capital punishment in all States and counties was one of the planks adopted, and they demanded new legislation whereby—

Listen to this:

They demanded new legislation whereby the physician who takes charge of a patient must guarantee a complete cure and be liable for damages in the event of death.

Think of a thing like that being advocated by a cult here in America! Listen to it; let me bring its significance home to you in this bill:

Again the platform quoted Father Divine, "If for any cause my spirit—

This is "god" speaking from his platform—

"If for any cause my spirit and my mind and my impersonal presence cannot reach your afflicted or sick children or those that are concerned, and heal them, you can have a physician and should have one. But remember the physicians must guarantee the cure and guarantee the life and health of the individual. This is a law within a law, and I put it forth as a rebuttal to that of medical science.

Here we are going back to real voodooism as it is practiced in Africa. If I cannot reach the afflicted get a physician. Here is a part of a platform that is a challenge to medical science in this country and medical science in the world, with this country leading it, and here is a cult that has been permitted to prosper under colored domination and is advancing such ideas as I have been reading from this volume.

This is a law within a law, and I put it forth as a rebuttal to that of medical science. If they will try to bind mankind to their rulings, they must be subject to a ruling also * * * the law is not worth a dime that is not giving equal rights on either side.

This is Father Divine speaking—

Thousands of people are homeless, thousands of them are motherless and fatherless, yea, even familyless. Whole families have died by operations. Whole families have been forced to have

physicians, and still they died after the physicians and hospitals had taken all their money. When the physician takes charge of you physically, he must guarantee your health and complete happiness and cure from that affliction and all of the diseases for which they are treating you.

There, Senators, is a passage I have read from what I will call the constitution of this cult, which defies medical science and says to a doctor, "If you are called in to cure a patient, you must guarantee that you are going to make him well. If you do not, we're going to charge you some damages."

How does Father Divine want to cure the sick? He does not say here; but I should be willing to wager that his method of doing it would be the same as was used by his forbears in dark Africa—by praying to a goat, or to an elephant, or perhaps rubbing the patient with a little bit of sweet oil or onion tops. [Laughter.] That may be what his teachings will lead to; and that is what this little colored man, who claims that his cult embraces 30,000,000 members in this country, is preaching to those members.

To the average reader the foregoing doctrine will probably seem the most radical and the most fantastic in the entire portfolio of this Don Quixotic crusader. However, here again Father Divine is much in agreement with Gandhi, who declares that "disease is the result of our thoughts as much as our acts"—

Gandhi, as you know, is a native of India. He is a great man in India. I will not say that he is considered a god, but he is considered some kind of a healer, a man who has the power of healing by a mere touch of the hand, and you are well. He can cure you overnight. Just touch his garments and you are cured. That is why I say to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] that in India today there is a condition which clearly shows what the mongrelization of that once proud race has brought about in the way of the degradation and decay of its former great civilization; and I repeat that I do not want that to occur in this country.

I continue reading:

and that all disease springs from the same origin, the neglect of natural laws of health.

Romain Rolland, in his book, Gandhi, states:

"Western medical science is concerned with giving relief to suffering bodies only. It does not strive to do away with the cause of suffering and disease, which, as a rule, is nothing but vice. In fact, western medical science may almost be said to encourage vice by making it possible for a man to satisfy his passions and appetites at the least possible risk. It contributes, therefore, to demoralize people; it weakens their will power by helping them to cure themselves with 'black magic' prescriptions instead of forcing them to strengthen their character by disciplinary rules for body and soul."

The righteous-government group in their platform further demanded legislation providing that any labor union which limits the hours and days of work per week must guarantee at least that much work per week to its members, and, if it calls a strike, pay its members while they are out of work at the full rate.

That is fine business.

Once more they let their leader lay down the law to the unrighteous.

I again quote from this inimitable platform, or constitution, or whatever it may be called:

Practically all of the different unions they think they have dominion over the people, and force them to work or force them not to work and yet give them nothing. I have risen to put it down—

This is "god" talking—

Every union in the United States must deal justly among the people, or else I will strike on them.

Just think. If the American Federation of Labor, the C. I. O., or any other labor organization, fails to toe the mark, Father Divine is going to strike on it.

If you belong to a union, the unions must have a law to see that you get so much work, if you must pay your union dues. * * * This country does not belong to the unions; it belongs to God.

Who is "God"? Father Divine. "Therefore," he reasons, "it belongs to me." And that is why that little chauffeur of his a while ago, "Mr. Charlie," advocated that ridiculous taxation plan, to relieve all property from taxation, because he said that all the sales that took place in the past were no good since Father Divine's name did not appear on the deeds.

Now tell them I said keep their hands off. * * * Talking about a man cannot work unless he belongs to a union, and then joining

the union, and they will not give him work to do. * * * If the labor unions that limit workers to 5 days a week will guarantee the workers 5 days' work each week and will guarantee to pay them what they are demanding from the employers when they call them out on strike, we will endorse them. Otherwise, we will not tolerate them.

The platform called for legislation abolishing lynching—

Here it is. This is what I referred to a while ago. Here is the platform. The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] is a coauthor of the pending bill. In order, I suppose, for him to get the support of Father Divine—I do not know; I am just stretching my imagination again—but I imagine that it will be necessary for this platform to be followed; otherwise, I will say to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], Father Divine is going to see that his "angels" and the members of his cult do not vote for the Senator from New York.

The platform called for legislation abolishing lynching and for outlawing members of lynch mobs in all States and countries.

Read the antilynching bill, and you will find that written in section 3, as it affects the officers of the law. Under the bill, if the officer fails to make every effort to catch the members of the lynch mob, he goes to jail or the penitentiary. Now, just notice:

The platform called for legislation abolishing lynching and for outlawing members of lynch mobs in all States and countries.

That is the platform, and that is the way the pending bill is written.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President—

The Presiding Officer (Mr. LEWIS in the Chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. ELLENDER. I have not much time. I have only 35 minutes left. I wish I had time for a few more words. However, I shall be glad to yield for a question.

Mr. SMITH. What is the date of the book from which the Senator is reading? When was it published?

Mr. ELLENDER. This book was published in 1936. The title of it is, "God in a Rolls-Royce"—

Mr. SMITH. Yes; he is still there.

Mr. ELLENDER. God in a Rolls-Royce—the Rise of Father Divine, by John Hoshor.

Father Divine later stated that every person who was a member of a lynch mob that kills a man should be classed as a murderer and punished as the law of the particular States punish murderers, and not only that, "but everyone who is known to participate in a mob violence should be classed and found guilty as a murderer, whatsoever that means."

Read the bill and compare it with that platform. Read it!

The platform quoted Father Divine as declaring that he fed many thousands each day free, but that that was not his great aim in life.

"This is not the greatest expression."

Again quoting from the platform.

The great expression, according to my version, is to help you to be independent. I will cut out so much feeding of the unemployed as I have been. I have opened ways and means whereby you can be independent, self-supporting, and self-respecting. That is what I am desiring to see you all do and be.

They demanded legislation prohibiting employment agencies from collecting fees or remuneration in any form from employees, and called for Government control of all idle plants and machinery, tools and equipment where the owners are unwilling to operate them at full capacity, such facilities to be made available to workers on a cooperative, nonprofit basis, under supervision of Government experts, with temporary provision from the Government for materials.

That is in the platform of Father Divine's convention, I will say to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH].

They also demanded immediate work, under Government supervision, for every unemployed worker.

Abandonment of the rule requiring individuals to be on the relief rolls in order to get work on relief projects was called for. Crop control—

That is a good plank in this platform. I agree to that. That is the first thing in the whole platform that I would sanction, so far—

Destruction of foodstuffs and other products, must stop—

Wait a minute; I spoke too soon. [Laughter.]

That is a good plank in this platform. I agree to that. Mr. SMITH. Oh, no; go on.

Mr. ELLENDER. It says, "Crop control * * * must stop". I did not read it correctly.

According to the platform, which states, "The spectacle of hungry people in a land of plenty is worse than uncivilized." Abolition of all tariff schedules and obstacles to free trade among the nations formed another plank.

They asked for legislation limiting the amount of profits to be made on any article or product, but leaving the individual free to sell for as little as he chooses. Likewise, they want it made a criminal offense for any individual to spend money except for the necessities of life, while that individual owes a just debt to any person or organization. The platform pointed out that, "The followers of Father Divine will not owe another, and will not buy on the installment plan."

That is a mighty good platform plank. I wish they would stick to it. [Laughter.]

Father Divine evidently realizes that one of the greatest sources of worry and one of the most important factors in the weakening of character in our lives is that of living beyond our individual means. Father Divine, however, has completely annihilated this deleterious practice among his adherents, thereby adding measurably to their day-to-day happiness and peace of mind.

The righteous Government platform called for Government ownership and operation of the financial system and for all of the Government's bonded debts to be redeemed; all interest to be abolished, and dividends to be limited to 3½ percent. Receiving interest or larger dividends, or receiving money without performing labor or rendering practical service therefor, should be made a criminal offense.

As for counterfeit money, it should all be immediately destroyed by those who have acquired it at their own expense.

That is another plank in the platform.

The platform once again quoted Father Divine to the effect that if someone happens to pass a counterfeit bill on another, regardless of its amount, the latter should destroy it, for it is false, and the false should be eliminated.

There is to be no attempt to punish, but he should destroy it at his own expense.

Under the educational subdivision they called for the abolishing of the conventional form of greeting—

Listen to this. This is important, as I pointed out a while ago in connection with the article in Time:

Under the educational subdivision they called for the abolishing of the conventional form of greeting, "Hello," and the substitution of the word "Peace."

In other words, let me say to the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH], if he should happen to telephone to Mrs. Smith here in Washington, instead of saying, "Hello, Mrs. Smith," he would have to say, "Peace, Mrs. Smith." [Laughter.] That is a part of the platform.

They requested the cooperation of the telephone companies in this respect, "that a generation with peace on its lips, instead of what war has been said to be, may come into being."

The platform further asserted that the "time is at hand for righteousness, justice, and truth to be legalized, and for those that are unrighteous, unjust, and untrue, and will not observe the righteousness of the law, to be designated as criminals."

Modestly they admitted "it is not claimed that the recommendations contained in this platform will solve every economic problem of the world at large," but they pointed out, "the fundamental principle will."

In establishing these principles they stated, "We will use the legal and political guns, but refuse to use those that are the expressers of destruction, for we are not conceivers of destructive ideas and opinions."

The strange political document ended with a prophecy that the trident standard shall be universally established and accepted as the fundamental by "every nation, language, tongue, and people."

Following the completion of the convention's business and its adjournment, a copy of the platform adopted was released to the newspapers. Also Father Divine again personally wrote the more important Government officials, political and other leaders, calling their attention to the platform and enclosing a copy thereof.

Although the Pope had not been invited to attend the convention, he was blessed with a copy of the platform, with the following letter from its protagonist:

This is a letter sent to the Pope; too late, however, for the Pope to come to New York and attend the convention, but in order that the Pope might not be slighted they sent him a copy of all the proceedings.

The letter was addressed:

Peace, January 21, 1936. A. D. F. D. (anno Domini Father Divine).
Special delivery. Air mail. Registered mail.
Return receipt requested.

He wanted to be sure that his holiness got the letter. I read:

Eminence, POPE PIUS XI,
The Vatican, Rome, Italy.

YOUR GRACE: I write as I wish to advise, I, Rev. M. J. Divine, better known as Father Divine, and my peace mission movement, enclose the publication, *The Spoken Word*, that carries my message with the embodiment of my righteous government platform for which I stand, of which we drafted and released to the press and the public in our international righteous government convention on January 10-12.

We are not seeking to form another party, neither to run in collision with partisan parties that are in operation, but to release to them and to all that are in authority the high ideals for true partisanship that all parties might take the fundamentals in the text of my righteous government platform to serious consideration and act upon them as a significant legislation.

Please kindly accept same and endorse it, to be handed down to your congregations, as a significant legislation, and to be recommended by all of the Catholic people and in all countries under your spiritual advisory. This platform should be an important piece of legislation to be enacted in all of the government affairs through politics in connection with your advisory, for the purpose of abolishing vice and corruption in politics as well as in other organizations and for the establishment of a righteous government for which I have striven.

Therefore, we, the international interreligious, nonsectarian, interracial and nonpartisan peace mission and other cooperating and harmonious organizations, do hereby present this platform as a presentation from our righteous government department to you and to all that will accept same to stand as one body for the cause of righteousness, truth, and justice.

By your grace, endorsement, and cooperation, we will have righteous government throughout our great civilization, and all nations will unify together as one man at Jerusalem in peace and harmony by which we will have universal peace, instead of another world war. The conflicts and the threatening conflicts among the nations have caused the people of our present civilization to fear another great conflict as a world war, but we are requesting the honor of all good-thinking people to cooperate in thoughts and beseeches to the omnipotent, to bring about international peace among all nations in the repetition of the fulfillment of the message given to the wise men by the angels, whilst on their way to Bethlehem—"Glory to God in the highest and on earth, peace, good will toward men."

When this shall have been accomplished, by your grace and the cooperation of others, "the kingdom of this world shall become to be the kingdom of our God and his Christ," and the universal brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God will be a reality even as it is with those that are connected with me, that all may be even as I am.

Listen to this. He inserted the same closing paragraph as in the letter to the President of the United States. Let me read it, and I hope Senators will listen to it:

This leaves me well, healthy, joyful, peaceful, lively, loving, successful, prosperous and happy in spirit, body, and mind, and in every organ, muscle, sinew, vein, and bone, and even in every atom, fiber, and cell of my bodily form.

That is giving it to them, is it not, I ask the Senator from Washington [Mr. SCHWELLENBACH]?

Respectfully and sincere, I am, Rev. M. J. Divine (better known as Father Divine).

It will be remembered that a while ago I asked whether or not the platform from which I have read was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and my reason for asking the question was that there appears in this book the following paragraph:

According to Senator WAGNER's advice to Father Divine, Vice President Garner had had the Divine platform read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will not the Senator repeat that? I did not get it clear.

Mr. ELLENDER. A while ago I asked the clerk to check up and see whether or not this platform was ever printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and my reason for asking

was that in this book I noticed that there was a special paragraph reading as follows:

According to Senator WAGNER's advice to Father Divine, Vice President Garner had had the Divine platform read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a further question.

Mr. CONNALLY. What does the RECORD actually show?

Mr. ELLENDER. The RECORD shows that it was not read or published. I asked for the information of the clerk and a certain document was sent to me, which I did not read, but I am informed that the platform was not read, and that it was not made a part of the RECORD. That is my information.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. The book says the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] advised Father Divine that it had been printed. Is there anything to show that the Senator from New York read it or had it printed, or endeavored to have it printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD?

Mr. ELLENDER. Apparently not. I asked whether or not the document was made a part of the RECORD so that I could check up with the paragraph I have just read, and I was informed that it was not published or read.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado in the chair). Does the Senator from Louisiana yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. McKELLAR. Is Father Divine one of the advocates of the pending bill?

Mr. ELLENDER. Is he! I claim that everything in the bill, even to the provision for the prosecution of the officer, and the punishing of the persons who are part of the mob, is provided in terms like those found in this book. Let me read it again. I read from page 243.

The platform called for legislation abolishing lynching and for outlawing members of lynch mobs in all States and countries. Father Divine later stated that every person who was a member of a lynch mob that kills a man should be classed as a murderer and punished as the laws of the particular States punish murderers, and not only that "but everyone who is known to participate in a mob violence should be classed and found guilty as a murderer, whatsoever that means."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator another question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. McKELLAR. It has been frequently charged on the floor of the Senate that someone is in the gallery leading this fight. Is Father Divine in the gallery leading the fight?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know, but I would be willing to wager that a few "angels" might be found in this audience. [Laughter.] For all I know, the angel "Mary Magdalene" might be facing the Senate, or probably "Sister Bouquet," another one of the angels, or perhaps "Faithful Mary," who wrote the green book from which I read, might be in the gallery. I may be wrong about that, but the Senator has asked the question, and I have answered it to the best of my ability; and on occasions I have had to stretch my imagination a little. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Is the Senator complaining of the fact that what he calls a platform was sent to the Congress of the United States?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; I am not. My only reason for asking that the clerk check the matter and find out whether or not the platform was placed in the RECORD was that this paragraph appeared in the book. I, of course, have no objection to the platform being printed in the RECORD if certain Senators want it printed. I do not care about that. My only reason for having the matter checked was that I might find

out whether the statement contained in the paragraph I just read was carried out.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. The Senator believes in the first amendment to the Constitution?

Mr. ELLENDER. Certainly I do.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. So the Senator is not attempting to cast any reflection upon the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] or the Vice President of the United States?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; not in the least. I would not have mentioned the matter in the course of the debate had not a question been asked me by the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY]. I asked the clerk to let me know whether the platform had been made a part of the RECORD. Instead of reading the platform from the book I would have read it as it was printed in the RECORD had it been placed there. That is why I asked the clerk to check up on it. Of course, when the Senator from Texas asked me, after I had read the paragraph, to read it again, I did read it again.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so I may ask him a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. SCHWELLENBACH. I just wanted to make sure that the Senator was not complaining because of the compliance with the provisions of the first amendment of the Constitution, which guarantees the rights of citizens to petition their Government.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am not complaining of that, I will say to the Senator from Washington. But, I repeat, my idea was to quote the platform from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question. I may state to the Senator that I agreed to try to wind up at 5 o'clock, but I doubt if I will be able to wind up at 5 o'clock.

Mr. CONNALLY. I hope the Senator stays wound up. [Laughter.]

Mr. ELLENDER. It is not a question of the Senator remaining wound up. He is already wound up and ready to go; much more power remains.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. I want to be fair to the Senator from Washington [Mr. SCHWELLENBACH], and to the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], who is not here. Is the Senator aware that in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of recent date appears the following:

The Vice President laid before the Senate a resolution of the International Righteous Government Convention remonstrating against war, the sale or manufacture of war materials in the United States, and the loan of money to any warring nation.

Mr. ELLENDER. I was not aware of that, I will say to the Senator from Texas, but what the Senator is now reading from is not the platform about which I read a while ago. It is a totally different proposition.

Mr. CONNALLY. Will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. If Father Divine is God, why does he not stop wars instead of "resolving" against them?

Mr. ELLENDER. That is what I would like to know. I continue to read on page 251:

Father Divine is emphatic that his group are not interested in forming another party. Although he and his followers supported La Guardia in the 1933 New York City mayoralty campaign, he is apparently more in accord with the doctrines of the Communist Party than with those of any other political organization. He has often cooperated with the Communist group in their peace parades and meetings, and once, denying a rumor that Moscow financed the Peace Mission Movement, the colored messiah stated that to the contrary he had at times helped the Communists financially.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. McKELLAR. I ask, If Father Divine is God, is there any evidence to show who his representative is down here?

Mr. ELLENDER. I suppose he ought to have a few angels in Washington, because he has 60 heavens in Washington, 24 States, and 4 countries.

Mr. McKELLAR. Sixty heavens! [Laughter.]

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes. The book says that he has 60 heavens in Washington, 24 States, and 4 countries, and I am told that they are all filled with fluttering angels. [Laughter.]

Mr. McKELLAR. Fluttering angels! [Laughter.]

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes. All lively too. I have been informed—I may be wrong, and if so, I will correct it later on in the Record—that the angels are the collectors. They are compelled to give the collections of all they make to Father Divine. That is how he gets the mazuma. [Laughter.]

I continue reading because I want to complete my statement this afternoon. I know I cannot complete my speech by 5, but I will try. [Laughter.]

I continue to read:

Speaking of political parties, Father Divine declared: "The party or parties which desire my support, tell them I said, 'Give me something better than the Communists offer.' This is what I say; but, remember, this is not confined to the Communist Party, neither the Democrats, Republicans, nor Socialists, for I have brought to the surface something better than the Communists offer."

That is Divine's platform. That is "god" speaking.

I have something—and I am something—better than the Communists offer. And better than all of the partisan parties.

Several Senators have recently come into the Chamber. There are more Senators present now than before. I do not suppose they heard some of the things I have read. I wish to let those Senators know exactly what absurdities this "god" has been spreading over the radio. Here is a picture of him talking over the radio. I do not know what the language under the picture means, but I am going to read it again, and I am going to ask some Senator, on his own time, of course, not on mine [laughter], to tell me what this means. Listen to this. This is Father Divine talking. Look at him—his mouth is wide open, near the microphone:

I have not yet done anything to what I will do—not so much as a percent of a percent of a percent of a fraction of a grain of what I will do universally, as well as among you.

I shall reread that.

I have not yet done anything to what I will do—not so much as a percent of a percent of a percent of a fraction of a grain of what I will do universally, as well as among you.

If that is not English gone haywire, I want to know what it is. [Laughter.]

I read further.

Asked another time about his cooperation with the Communists, Father Divine replied:

"I stand for anyone who will deal justly between man and man. The Communists stand for social equality—"

There it is—"The Communists stand for social equality."

The Communists stand for social equality, political and economic equality, and for justice in every issue, and this is the principle for which I stand. I am not especially representing religion. I am representing God on earth among men and I will cooperate with any organization that will stand for the right and deal justly. . . . I know the higher-ups are oppressing the people and I will end this by righteousness, not by violence. I find fault with the Communist methods, but not their aims. I teach peace. There will be an end to all oppression and suppression and race prejudice, and I will bring it about personally.

Mr. President, that is "god" speaking. That is Father Divine speaking.

The Communist Party stands for social equality, political equality, economic equality, and I, God, with all my angles, believe in that.

Of course they do. Just as surely as I am speaking to the Senate, if we give political equality to the colored race that will happen to us of which I am now going to read. I am not alone in my prediction. I quote in substance from Jefferson, from Lincoln, and many of those of older civilizations. Listen, Senators:

Political equality leads to social equality, and social equality will eventually spell the decay and downfall of our American civilization.

That is what is coming. I repeat what I said earlier today. As far as ALLEN ELLENDER, junior Senator from Louisiana, is concerned, he would be willing to vote tomorrow for the repeal of the fifteenth amendment granting the Negro suffrage, because if all States of the Union give political equality to the colored people, leaders like "god," and others in those cities, who control a little clique of voters here, and another over there will seek more and more social equality, and what I am warning of will come to pass. Senators sitting here may not see it. My boy may not see it. No one in this audience may see it. But I am speaking now for future generations and for the progress of America. I do not want America to stagnate. I do not want it to go backward. I want it to progress. And I say, just as truly as I am speaking to the Senate, if we permit the mongrelization of the American race with the colored people, we will have the decay of our American civilization.

I repeat, Senators, I do not want the South again to experience conditions similar to those that she suffered following the Civil War. I do not want Federal soldiers, colored soldiers, to tramp the streets of New Orleans and try to make the white people in the State of Louisiana take their medicine." We are able to handle our local affairs, and will, too!

Mr. President, I have a few more facts to introduce. I have presented a picture to the Senate, and I hope to the American people.

I do not want to try to create any sentiment which may lead to trouble. I sympathize and always have sympathized with the colored people of the South. I like them. If in the past a few of them have been lynched, I say that at such times those who have done so have been led by the same class of people who commit murder in Chicago, in Baltimore, or in New York.

I do not know whether this bill is going to pass or not. I hope it does not. In fact I know it will not if I can keep on talking a little bit longer. We might talk it sick or talk it to death. We might just talk it out of business, in other words. [Laughter.]

So far as I am concerned, I wish to do my share in defeating it, and I am willing to continue speaking until tomorrow if necessary, and the day after that. I am going to keep on exerting every effort. As I said yesterday, so far as I am concerned, I do not want this bill to stand in the way of any necessary legislation. Personally, I should be willing to set this bill aside today or tomorrow and take up other legislation, and then come back and go to the bat on it after we finish the other legislation. That is what I am willing to do. I do not know how other Members of the Senate who are interested in this matter feel about that, but that is what I am willing to do.

Mr. President and Members of the Senate, it is now 5 o'clock. I think I can get through in 10 or 15 minutes, and I ask the Senate's indulgence for that additional time. Several Senators have interrupted me for the purpose of asking questions. If those questions had not been asked perhaps I might have completed my speech by 5 o'clock as per an understanding with the Senate. I am now willing to rest the case, as we sometimes say in court.

I should like later to talk just a little bit more, however, and try, if I can, to bring some additional enlightenment to bear on the subject.

The next thing I should like to talk about, if it is necessary and if I may present all the facts, is to show what the South has done in order to help the Negro of the South economically and in every other way except to permit him social equality with the whites. I venture to say that we are doing just as much as, if not more than, any other part of the country in that respect.

Mr. President, as I have just said, while awaiting the disposition of the bill before it shall come to a vote, I desire to submit to the Senate seven separate amendments. I may have a few more later on, but for the present I have seven.

The first amendment I am not going to read, and I am not going to attempt to talk about it, except to say that the purpose of it is to prevent the marriage of a Negro with a

white, or a white with a Negro, in any State of the Union. I ask that this amendment be printed following my remarks, and that a copy of it be laid on the desk of each Member of the Senate; and I make the same request about each of the other amendments I am about to mention.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. I suggest to the Senator that he defer having the amendments printed until he is ready to conclude his remarks. Otherwise, some Senator may prevent him from concluding them.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am about ready to conclude my remarks. I want to fulfill my promise to the Senator from Indiana [Mr. MINTON] to conclude my remarks at 5 o'clock. I have just a few more words to say, and then I shall surrender the floor.

That is the first amendment.

If that should happen to fail, the next amendment is to the effect that if one State of the Union, or a number of States of the Union, happen to have statutes preventing the intermarriage of white and colored persons, such couples married in other States that permit it shall not be permitted to come into the States where such marriages are prohibited.

If that amendment fails, I have still another amendment to prevent marriages in the District of Columbia between Negroes and whites, or whites and Negroes.

Then I have a series of amendments, three in number, which are in a measure self-explanatory. They provide that if any damages are otherwise payable under this bill as the result of a lynching, if the facts show the person who was lynched was guilty of the crime he was accused of committing, his heirs or next of kin cannot recover. I have three amendments of that kind which I should like to offer. I ask that all of them be printed at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the various amendments referred to by the Senator from Louisiana will be printed at the end of the Senator's remarks.

Mr. BONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ELLENDER. I yield for a question.

Mr. BONE. I was wondering if the amendment which the Senator tenders, preventing the heirs of the deceased from recovering in case of his guilt, would not amount to trying a man for a crime after he is dead.

Mr. ELLENDER. No; under the bill, the damages are payable to the heirs or next of kin of the deceased; and my amendment states that if the facts show that the deceased, the man who was lynched, was guilty of the crime he was supposed to have committed, there shall be no responsibility.

Mr. BONE. Would not that imply trying a man after he is dead, or trying the facts of the case after he is dead?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; I do not mean trying the man, Mr. President; I mean if the facts show that the person accused of the crime that led to his lynching was guilty, there shall be no recovery of damages.

The next amendment I offer is one making it a capital offense for any person to commit the crime of rape.

(The amendments referred to are printed at the end of Mr. ELLENDER's remarks.)

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. I am about to close, but I yield for a question.

Mr. CONNALLY. In connection with the question of the Senator from Washington [Mr. BONE], is it not a fact that it is not a matter of criminal prosecution in the sense that a dead man is being tried, but a question of civil liability which this bill seeks to set up, not between the dead man and the county or the municipality, but between the heirs of the dead man and the county or the municipality. Therefore, being a question of civil liability, any question that is pertinent to it may be elucidated and tried without the presence of the dead man.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is correct.

Mr. President, it is now 5:15 o'clock and, pursuant to my promise, I now desire to try to close my remarks.

As I stated a while ago, I hope Senators will not impose this bill on the South. I hope that what happened during reconstruction days will not again happen down there. I contend that if the Federal Government had maintained the Negroes of the South in power, today we might have a good start on the mongrelization of our race.

Suppose the strong hand and the long arm of the Federal Government had remained in the South, had permitted the colored people to have and to hold our chief offices there. Can you not visualize what would have happened? I hope my warnings, my arguments, will not fall on deaf ears, not only for the good of the Negro, but for the advancement of our progressive civilization.

O Mr. President, but for the foresight, but for the valor, but for the bravery, but for the courage of the white men and the white women of the South who, following the Civil War, fought for the supremacy of their race, and whose bodies now lie beneath the sod of the old South in dreamless sleep, these walls might never have echoed the voices of John Bankhead, Edward Douglas White, Isom Harris, Joseph T. Robinson, Duncan Fletcher, Oscar Underwood, the immortal Huey P. Long, Charles Culberson, Nathan Bryan, Donaldson Caffery, Ollie M. James, Hugo Black, Benjamin H. Hill, Wade Hampton, Zebulon B. Vance, L. Q. C. Lamar, Thomas S. Martin, and other illustrious sons of the South, including our esteemed and beloved Vice President and Presiding Officer, John Nance Garner.

The struggle was costly; it was bitter; but oh, how sweet the victory! Let us not reward the deeds of those men and women with a crown of thorns, but, instead, let us perpetuate their memories with this challenge, "We shall at all cost preserve the white supremacy of America."

(The amendments referred to by Mr. ELLENDER in his speech, and intended to be proposed by him to the pending bill, are as follows:)

NO. 1

On page 11, after line 23, insert the following new section:

"SEC. 7. It shall be unlawful for any white person to marry a Negro, or for any Negro to marry a white person. Any person who violates the provision of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000, or imprisonment for not more than 5 years, or both, and the marriage shall be null and void."

NO. 2

On page 11, after line 23, insert the following new section:

"SEC. 7. It shall be unlawful for any husband and wife, being of different races, to enter any State, if under the laws of such State it is unlawful for the members of such races to intermarry. Any person who violates the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not more than \$ or imprisonment for not more than — years, or both."

NO. 3

On page 11, after line 23, insert the following new section:

"SEC. 7. It shall be unlawful for any white person to marry a Negro, or for any Negro to marry a white person, in the District of Columbia. Any person who violates the provision of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 5 years, or both, and the marriage shall be null and void."

NO. 4

On page 11, line 4, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof the following: "except as provided in subsection (3) of this section."

"(3) Any judgment or award recovered under the provisions of subsection (1) of this section shall be subject to any judgment claim against the victim of the lynching or the estate of the victim of the lynching, if such judgment claim was obtained by the holder thereof as a result of a suit against such victim for damages for personal injuries resulting from the death or injury of any person."

On page 11, line 5, strike out "(3)" and insert in lieu thereof "(4)."

NO. 5

On page 9, line 7, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof the following: "If the person injured, or the next of kin of the person injured in cases where the injury results in death, establishes that such person was not guilty of the offense which he was charged with or of which he was suspected."

On page 9, line 8, after the word "any," insert "such."

NO. 6

On page 7, line 16, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Provided further, That 'lynching' shall not be deemed to include the killing or maiming of any person

unless such person was not guilty of the offense with which he was charged or of which he was suspected."

NO. 7

On page 11, after line 9, insert the following new section:
 "Sec. 6. Any male person who commits rape upon any female person shall be guilty of a capital crime and, upon conviction in the United States district court for the district in which the offense occurred, shall be put to death in the manner provided by law. Any male person who attempts to rape a female person shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction in the United States district court for the district in which the offense occurred, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than 5 years and not more than 15 years."

On page 11, line 10, strike out "Sec. 6" and insert "Sec. 7."

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Latta, one of his secretaries.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, before the Senate takes a recess, I again express the hope that I may have the floor tomorrow to discuss the pending bill.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Mississippi how long his remarks will take. I understand that our legislative week will close tomorrow, and before the week ends I am very anxious to answer the speech made a day or two ago by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] on the T. V. A. I am wondering whether, if I can get the floor after the Senator from Mississippi concludes his remarks, I will be able to make the speech this week.

Mr. BILBO. I am not yet a filibuster, and I do not expect to take more than 3 or 4 hours in a discussion of the pending bill, so the Senator will have plenty of time tomorrow.

SAFETY IN DRIVING ON THE HIGHWAYS

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, on January 17, last Monday, the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] and I offered an amendment to House bill 8838, which has to do with safety in driving on the highways of the United States. In the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress I introduced a bill on the same subject, Senate bill 589, which is now on the calendar of the Senate.

Last Monday evening the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] participated in an interview over the radio in reference to safety on the highways, and I ask unanimous consent that the interview be printed in the body of the RECORD as a part of my remarks, and that there also be printed, at the conclusion of the interview, the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arizona and myself to House bill 8838.

There being no objection, the interview and amendment were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO INTERVIEW WITH HON. CARL HAYDEN, OF ARIZONA, BY RUSSELL E. SINGER, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION, MONDAY, JANUARY 17, 1938

ANNOUNCER. The National Broadcasting Co. again evidences its interest in the traffic safety problem. Tonight we present an interview with Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, one of the outstanding congressional supporters of adequate and safe highways. Senator HAYDEN will be interviewed by Russell E. Singer, general manager of the American Automobile Association, who speaks for motorists.

Before going into the interview, let's hear from Mr. Singer as to just how serious the traffic-safety problem in the United States really is. Mr. Singer.

Mr. SINGER. A preliminary survey, just completed by the American Automobile Association, indicates that 39,243 men, women, and children were killed in traffic accidents on our streets and highways during 1937. More than 1,374,000 people were injured. This means that roughly 1 out of every 125 persons was killed or more or less seriously injured in highway crashes during the year just ended. The situation was particularly acute on rural highways where the traffic accident situation was much worse than in cities. Available records indicate that the great majority of accidents occurred in daylight hours and under favorable weather conditions. The greater number were directly attributable to careless acts on the part of drivers and pedestrians. In a word, the tragedy of carelessness continues to stalk along the streets and highways of the country.

Fortunately, we have with us tonight a United States Senator, who has been a leader in the effort to give our people a national system of highways and to assure their safe use. Senator HAYDEN has kindly consented to give the radio audience some information on the attitude in Congress with reference to the acute traffic-safety condition. Let's ask him some questions.

Senator HAYDEN, what do you think of our traffic accident situation?

Senator HAYDEN. Too many Americans apparently accept traffic accidents as inevitable. They do not see that the tremendous toll of deaths and injuries is the sum total of many millions of individual acts of thoughtlessness and indifference. Automobiles have become so commonplace that many people fail to realize that the increasing advantages of their use are seriously threatened by a tidal wave of national carelessness. Aside from the death toll and the tragedy that comes to our people when some loved one is killed or injured there is an economic aspect to the traffic safety problem.

Almost 6,000,000 people are employed directly or indirectly in highway transportation. They range from the men who build cars to attendants at gasoline pumps and garage workers. Obviously if car ownership and use is discouraged through our failure to eliminate the causes of accidents, the stability of one of America's first industries is threatened. As a people to whom the automobile has become a daily necessity, we must make every reasonable effort to achieve the maximum of highway safety if we are to continue to enjoy this cheap and rapid means of getting from place to place.

Mr. SINGER. Senator, do you believe that the Federal Government should itself attempt to solve this problem?

Senator HAYDEN. Absolutely not. Control of automobile traffic and supervision over drivers is essentially a State and local problem. But the Federal Government can and should help. Congress can assist and encourage the States to take action. It can be done in much the same fashion as the Federal Government has helped the States in the construction of roads. As you know, practically all highways are built by the several States. Yet the Federal Government, through the Bureau of Public Roads, acts as a central medium of exchange so that every State may have the benefit of new developments in every other State. The Federal Aid Highway Act authorizes the Bureau of Public Roads to set up certain engineering standards which the States must meet before they can receive grants of Federal funds for the construction of public highways, with the result that we are beginning to have a fairly satisfactory system of roads connecting at State borders to form a truly national network of hard-surfaced highways. In a similar manner the Federal Government can correlate the findings and experiences in the various States as they each attempt to work out their traffic problems, and by an interchange of information the Bureau of Public Roads could materially assist all the States in the promotion of traffic safety.

Mr. SINGER. I am certain that we can all agree with you on that, Senator HAYDEN. Could you tell us what is being done in Congress to promote traffic safety?

Senator HAYDEN. A number of sound proposals are being advanced in the Congress to meet the safety problem. As one approach, I might say that Senator TRUMAN, of Missouri, and I have today introduced an amendment to the Federal Highway Act which provides that after the 1st of January 1940 no State shall receive Federal aid for the construction of roads unless the legislature of that State has enacted a five-point program looking to uniform motor-vehicle laws throughout the United States. In other words, States without reasonable safety legislation would be denied Federal funds for road building.

We may as well face the fact that with nearly 30,000,000 motor vehicles on our highways, and the traffic situation as complicated as it is today, every State should not fail to require that an applicant for permission to drive must show that he has the ability to drive. We must also recognize that the use of our streets and highways for motor vehicles is not a right guaranteed by the Constitution but a privilege to be enjoyed when such use does not endanger the life and property of citizens generally.

It took the brains of many hundreds of men to invent and perfect the automobile. The startling increase of traffic fatalities now requires that millions of men should use their brains for their own protection and the protection of their fellow men. Those who will not or cannot exercise the common sense which God has given most of us must be compelled to do so either by guidance or punishment administered by the local authorities in our States and cities.

It is difficult to believe that while we have now had automobiles for nearly 40 years many States still permit anyone, regardless of his physical or mental fitness, to operate with abandon a killing machine weighing 3,000 pounds and capable of traveling up to 100 miles an hour. Eight States have no drivers' license law of any kind. Sixteen of the States which do have licenses cheerfully issue them to lunatics, habitual drunkards, and narcotic addicts. Is it any wonder that traffic accidents are on the increase?

Mr. SINGER. Would the method you and Senator TRUMAN have in mind mean further appropriations by Congress or perhaps the establishment of additional Government bureaus?

Senator HAYDEN. No; it is not necessary that any new Federal standards be set up with which the States must comply. Three decades of experience have helped to develop a uniform motor-vehicle code as a pattern for sound safety legislation in the States. There is no need for Congress to hand down a pronouncement, since this code has already been devised and perfected by the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety in which the American Automobile Association was an active participant.

Every part of the uniform code has been adopted in one or more of the States. It offers a reasonable plan for the control of vehicles and drivers and even specifies what should be expected of the pedestrian. It is a model, simple in language and requirements, which the States can and should accept. All the States will adopt the code, I am sure, if Congress will encourage its enactment by the passage of such legislation as that which Senator TRUMAN and I have proposed.

Mr. SINGER. Senator HAYDEN, would you be kind enough to give the radio audience some indication of what the uniform code provides?

Senator HAYDEN. Certainly. The uniform code embodies five separate State laws, each dealing with a different field of motor-vehicle regulation. The first act establishes a uniform registration, certificate of title, and antitheft law, which would be of immeasurable assistance in connection with the administration of the existing Dyer Act, prohibiting the interstate transportation of stolen motor vehicles.

Another part of the code deals with the licensing of persons operating motor vehicles and sets up a standard for the examination of applicants for the right to drive. Were this portion of the code generally enacted it would not be true, as it is today, that only eight States require a test of vision before a license is issued. The third proposal relates to civil liability of owners and operators of motor vehicles, and provides for service of civil process on nonresidents.

The fourth suggested act pertains to the giving of proof of financial responsibility by owners and operators of motor vehicles. This would go a step further than a license law by giving the States a weapon for removing from the highways the proven reckless and irresponsible drivers. The final act regulates traffic on the highways, defines certain requirements in the use and operation of motor vehicles, provides for standard signs and signals. In general, it is a model regulation for controlling traffic.

Mr. SINGER. What you have said about the uniform acts is very interesting, and I am sure their enactment would go a long way toward solving many of our traffic problems.

Senator HAYDEN. The code is probably not perfect, but it is a long step in the right direction. If nothing else, it would help to wake up the American people to the horrible toll of human life which is being annually sacrificed because of our carelessness and our indifference—a loss that is worse than war.

Mr. SINGER. Perhaps it would be well, Senator HAYDEN, if you would compare the annual loss of life through automobile accidents in the United States with the number of Americans killed in the World War.

Senator HAYDEN. Most Americans are shocked by the ruthlessness of the dictators who by fear control those subject to them, and who have so often shown that they are callous to human suffering with little or no regard for human life. Yet we, the American people, have nothing to be proud of in that same respect. You have said, Mr. SINGER, that in 1937 more than 39,000 men, women, and children died as the result of accidents on our streets and highways. That figure exceeds the total number of American soldiers who were killed in battle in France in 1917 and 1918. Nearly 40,000 dead, and that slaughter by autos and trucks will go on—not in one war but year after year—unless more is done to stop it.

What I now say is no palliation of war, which always was and always will be cruel and brutal. The whole Nation is quickly aroused with righteous anger when death comes to an American soldier or sailor from the bullet or bomb of an enemy, yet we are apparently indifferent, or at least only momentarily concerned, when death strikes the larger numbers who travel our highways and streets.

Life is just as sweet to the little child who is struck by a truck as it was to the soldier in the Argonne Forest. Life is just as dear to the men and women who are crushed and burned beyond recognition in head-on automobile collisions as it was to the sailors who were drowned when their ship was torpedoed in the icy waters of the North Atlantic.

Some say that war is man-made, and therefore hateful, but the automobile is man-made and men drive them. From the point of view of the whole American people, one life is just as precious as another. The truth is that we are all very easily aroused over the horrors of war and too little alive to the greater number of tragedies on our streets and highways. There are millions of men who would willingly give their lives for their country. Anyone should rather voluntarily make such a supreme sacrifice than be killed by a drunken driver.

Mr. SINGER. Thank you very much, Senator, for your highly constructive presentation on a most important subject. We all realize, of course, that there is no royal road to safety. The problem must necessarily be attacked on a broad front. There must be cooperation between the Federal and State Governments—between the judiciary and law-enforcement agencies. Finally, and most important, there must be cooperation on the part of motorists and pedestrians. Everyone is gratified to know, Senator HAYDEN, that the Congress is actively interested in doing everything possible to encourage the States to adopt sound laws which have undergone the acid test of experience and found to be reasonable and helpful. We hope that other leaders in Congress will show the same interest that you have; and I am sure that I speak for motorists everywhere, as well as the American Automobile Association, when I say that you will have full cooperation.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. HAYDEN and Mr. TRUMAN to the bill (H. R. 8838) to amend the Federal Aid Highway Act, approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes, viz: On page 8 strike out lines 7 to 16, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 12. No sums appropriated after January 1, 1940, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Federal Highway Act, as amended and supplemented, shall be paid to any State unless

such State has enacted and has in force laws with respect to (1) motor vehicle registration, certificates of title, and theft; (2) motor vehicle operator's and chauffeur's licenses; (3) civil liability of owners and operators of motor vehicles; (4) financial responsibility of owners and operators of motor vehicles; and (5) regulation of traffic on highways; and such laws are found by the Secretary of Agriculture to be adequate to control properly the use of highways constructed in such State with the aid of funds apportioned to such State under the provisions of such Federal Highway Act, as amended and supplemented."

RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALASKA

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Concurrent Resolution 24, first session, Seventy-fifth Congress, passed on August 21, 1937, requesting a report in January 1938, I am transmitting herewith a report on Alaska—Its Resources and Development, prepared at my request as one of a series of regional planning studies by the National Resources Committee.

The report is in two parts. Part I contains a statement on policy and recommendations for planning prepared by a special Alaska Resources Committee. Part II contains a series of staff reports prepared by groups representing different Federal Bureaus primarily concerned with various problems in Alaska. In order that these proposals and the supporting data may be available to the Members of Congress and to interested citizens, I recommend that the report be printed, with illustrations.

In the very limited time available for this study, a substantial beginning has been made toward "a comprehensive plan for the development of the resources of the Territory of Alaska."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 20, 1938.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado in the chair), as in executive session, laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations and a convention, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

RECESS

Mr. MINTON. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Friday, January 21, 1938, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 20 (legislative day of January 5), 1938

RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for terms of 2 years from January 22, 1938 (reappointments):

Jesse H. Jones, of Texas.

C. B. Merriam, of Kansas.

Charles B. Henderson, of Nevada.

Emil Schram, of Illinois.

Howard J. Klossner, of Minnesota.

CALIFORNIA DEBRIS COMMISSION

Col. Warren T. Hannum, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to be a member of the California Debris Commission vice Col. John J. Kingman, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, relieved.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Hon. Robert A. Cooper, of South Carolina, to be United States district judge for the district of Puerto Rico. (Judge

Cooper is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 24, 1938.)

UNITED STATES ATTORNEYS

Clinton R. Barry to be United States attorney for the western district of Arkansas. (Mr. Barry is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 31, 1938.)

Lawrence S. Camp, of Georgia, to be United States attorney for the northern district of Georgia. (Mr. Camp is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

John D. Clifford, of Maine, to be United States attorney for the district of Maine. (Mr. Clifford is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 31, 1938.)

James O. Carr, of North Carolina, to be United States attorney for the eastern district of North Carolina. (Mr. Carr is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Marcus Erwin, of North Carolina, to be United States attorney for the western district of North Carolina. (Mr. Erwin is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Powless W. Lanier, of North Dakota, to be United States attorney for the district of North Dakota. (Mr. Lanier is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Emerich B. Freed, of Ohio, to be United States attorney for the northern district of Ohio. (Mr. Freed is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

William R. Smith, Jr., of Texas, to be United States attorney for the western district of Texas. (Mr. Smith is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Daniel B. Shields, of Utah, to be United States attorney for the district of Utah. (Mr. Shields is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired January 19, 1938.)

UNITED STATES MARSHALS

George A. Meffan, of Idaho, to be United States marshal for the district of Idaho. (Mr. Meffan is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Kinloch Owen, of Mississippi, to be United States marshal for the northern district of Mississippi. (He is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired January 19, 1938.)

William B. Fahy, of Missouri, to be United States marshal for the eastern district of Missouri. (Mr. Fahy is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Charles R. Price, of North Carolina, to be United States marshal for the western district of North Carolina. (Mr. Price is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired January 19, 1938.)

Ford S. Worthy, of North Carolina, to be United States marshal for the eastern district of North Carolina. (Mr. Worthy is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired January 19, 1938.)

George J. Keinath, of Ohio, to be United States marshal for the northern district of Ohio. (Mr. Keinath is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 31, 1938.)

James R. Wright, of Texas, to be United States marshal for the northern district of Texas. (Mr. Wright is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

Gilbert Mecham, of Utah, to be United States marshal for the district of Utah. (Mr. Mecham is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired January 19, 1938.)

Albert A. Sanders, of Wyoming, to be United States marshal for the district of Wyoming. (Mr. Sanders is now serving in this office under an appointment which expires January 26, 1938.)

APPOINTMENTS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

Chaplain (First Lt.) Morris Eugene Day, Chaplains' Reserve, to be chaplain with the rank of first lieutenant, with rank from date of appointment.

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY TO QUARTERMASTER CORPS

Maj. Charlie Anthony Valverde, Infantry, with rank from August 1, 1935.

Capt. Edwin Bascum Kearns, Jr., Infantry, with rank from August 1, 1935.

PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY

MEDICAL CORPS

To be captains with rank from December 17, 1937

First Lt. Joseph Pease Russell, Medical Corps.

First Lt. Elmer Deloss Gay, Medical Corps.

First Lt. Erling Severre Fugelso, Medical Corps.

First Lt. Paul Alexander Paden, Medical Corps.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1938

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

We praise Thee, O God, for the assurance that Thou art present and that Thou art a rewarder of them that diligently seek Thee. Heavenly Father, from time immemorial the human heart has turned to Thee for help, sympathy, and guidance; may we wait at Thine altar. Blessed Lord and Master, keep us faithful to ourselves, our homes, our fellow men, and our Nation. We thank Thee for Thy Holy Word—the Book of wisdom, the Book of love, and the Book of God. Let us harken unto its appeal:

I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service. And be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.

In the name of our holy Savior. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. Speaker, another letter has come to the committee of which I am chairman answering the Acting Comptroller General in reference to his criticism in his annual report. This letter comes from the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. Members on both sides of the aisle feel that as the criticism of the Acting Comptroller General was published in the RECORD, his reply ought to be published in the RECORD.

If the House will not object, I ask unanimous consent to place the reply in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a speech made by Judge Henry Ellenbogen, a former Member of the House, on the date he resigned from the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD on the subject of the pending tax bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.